

THE COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE

10 CENTS A MONTH

JULY 1909

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A MONTHLY ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE
DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS
OF THE COLORED RACE.

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By I. De HOUGHTON CROOKE

NEW STATE FOR THE NEGRO

By WILLIAM ARCHER

STIMULUS OF NEGRO TEACHING

By ROSCOE CONKLING BRUCE

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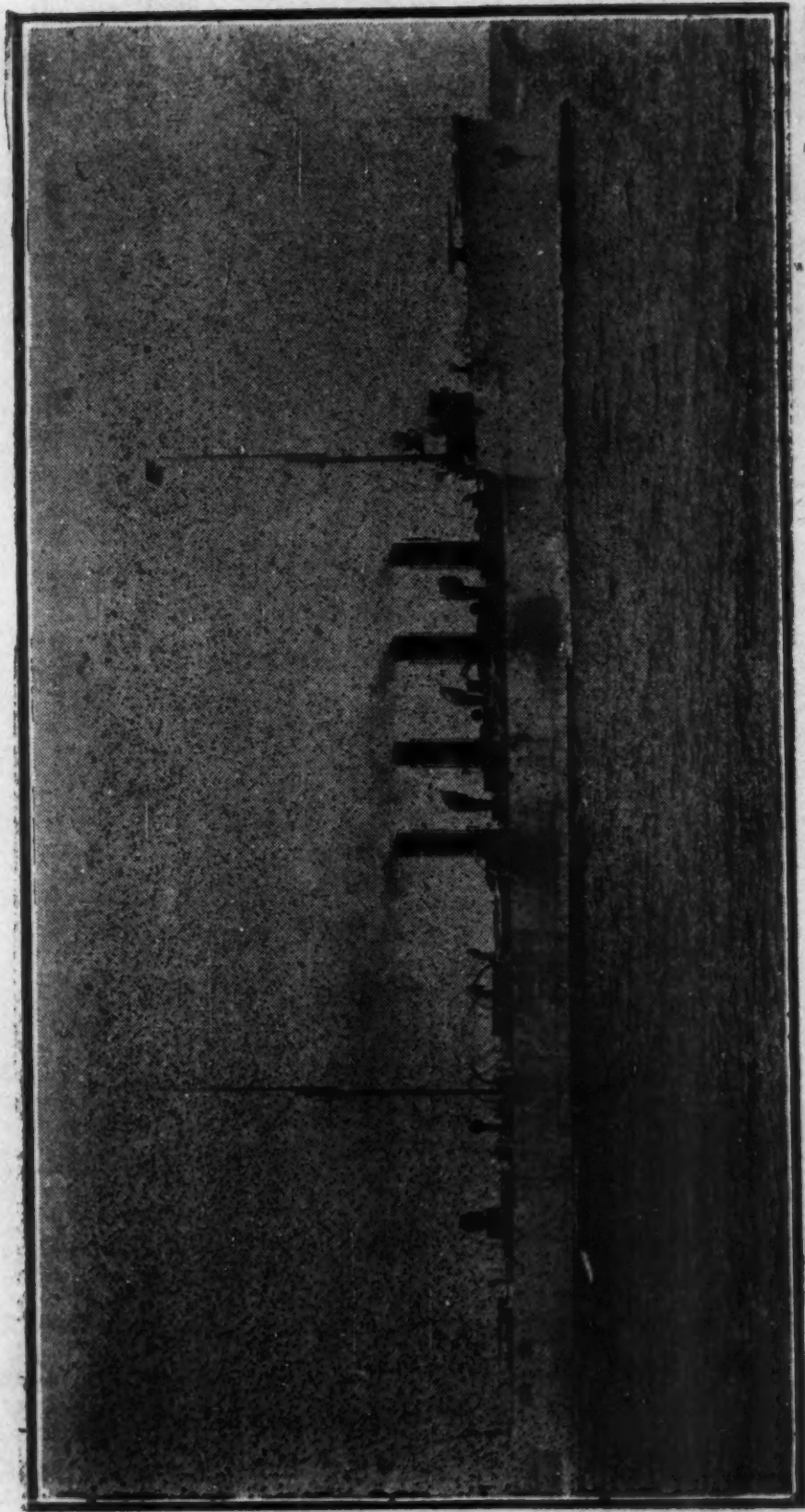
The Colored American Magazine

GEORGE W. HARRIS, Editor

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THE COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE

VOL. XVII.

JULY, 1909

NO. 1

THE MONTH

FOR Negroes the month of June was one of suspense. In the larger political sense there seemed to be nothing doing, save for one notable exception, an excellent has been the temper of restraint and confidence in the future shown under the suspense. That one exception has been the remarkable decision rendered by the Board of Arbitrators of the Georgia Railroad strike. If it is not too much to hope that their decision presages favorable reports in all other pending Negro matters, then the Negro has done well to stand and wait.

That matter which holds foremost place—whether rightfully or wrongly—in the minds of Negroes, is political appointments. Early during the last month it was stated semi-officially that some important Negro appointments were slated for early July. That time is here. The Brownsville Board, it was also stated, will soon make their report on the rein-

statement of the innocent soldiers discharged from the Twenty-fourth Regular Infantry. The Liberian Commission, sailing homeward after an extended investigation of Liberian affairs, will make their report some time during the present month. During the last few days a considerable flurry was caused by the report of the Boston correspondent of the *New York Age* that no Negro graduated from Harvard University in this year's class. The correspondent has corrected his former statement to the effect that no Negro gets through Harvard College this year—a fact unusual as it is lamentable—but that one Negro, Mr. J. W. S. Ish, received his degree from the Harvard Medical School, and that another, Mr. Edmund Oxley, received a degree from the Harvard Divinity School.

EDWARD EVERETT HALE

In the death of Edward Everett Hale the Negro race mourns more because of the passing of the noble class to which

he belonged rather than because of his marked personal achievements in its behalf. Dr. Hale was one of the last of the grand old Puritans, an aristocrat of Revolutionary lineage, who believed implicitly in the brotherhood of man, and who hated slavery simply because slavery was wrong. One of the earliest of Republicans, he was one of the foremost Massachusetts friends of the slave, being a personal and ardent friend of Eli Thayer, of Worcester, the friend and supporter of John Brown. He himself was an officer and efficient worker of the Emigrant Aid Society, through whose efforts anti-slavery won over slavery in the Kansas Border Ruffian war of 1857. Since the Civil War Dr.

Hale was the unwavering and powerful friend of the Negro race on all questions of civil rights, privileges and opportunities. Through the South Congregational Church, of Boston, which he pastored from 1856 till his death, he long and largely helped Negro education in the South. Few, if any, Americans are now before the public of the high soul and service of Edward Everett Hale.

WASHINGTON HIGH SCHOOL COMMENCEMENT

The annual commencement exercises of the Armstrong Manual Training, M Street High School, and Normal School No. 2 were jointly held last Friday evening at Convention Hall, and the occasion was made notable by addresses by President Taft and Charles W. Anderson, collector of internal revenue from New York City.

Seated on the platform, besides the graduates, were President Taft, Capt. Archibald Butt, Capt. James F. Oyster, District Commissioner Macfarland, Charles W. Anderson, John C. Dancy, Rev. W. H. Brooks, W. V. Tunnell, W. T. Vernon, Rev. F. J. Grimke, Harry O. Hine, Supt. A. T. Stuart, Assistant Superintendent R. C. Bruce, Assistant Superintendent P. M. Hughes, Judge Terrell, Dr. John R. Francis, Major Charles R. Douglass, Mrs. M. C. Terrell, Dr. B. W. Evermann, James A. Cobb, Judge W. H. Gibbs, R. R. Horner, Dr. W. B. Evans, Dr. L. E. Mota, W. T. S. Jackson, J. M. Saunders, W. V. Cox, and M. O. Chance.

President Taft presented diplomas to the 198 young men and women who



EDWARD EVERETT HALE

were graduated from the three institutions. The Chief Executive arrived at the exercises during the speech of Collector Anderson. He had accepted the invitation to be present with the understanding that he was not to make a speech. However, he later told Trustee Oyster that he was so favorably impressed with the address of Collector Anderson that he resolved to make a few remarks.

During his talk President Taft made a significant remark, which was taken as an unofficial announcement that Collector Anderson will be permitted to serve as collector of internal revenue under the present administration, and will not be disturbed in his office.

During his address Collector Anderson urged the members of the race against criticizing their recognized leaders, and urged them to seek the things that lay within their reach.

JUSTICE IN GEORGIA

But overshadowing all other matters in its meaning for the Negroes of this country was the decision of the Georgia arbitrators, ex-Secretary of the Navy Hilary A. Herbert, Chancellor Barrow of Georgia University, and Congressman Thomas Hardwick.

For the Negro race, the *New York Age* states the case thus fully and forcefully:

Even though it be but an act of simple justice, the decision of the Georgia Railroad strike arbitrators is one of the most commendable and courageous decisions ever given by a Southern board. White firemen will not

be given preference over Negro firemen; the same standard of intelligence and efficiency will be required for both, and Negroes will get the same pay as the whites. Under the Erdman act, this decree is final and must be accepted by both sides.

While on the face of the decision, the white strikers and their "cracker" sympathizers lose their point, it will in the end be for the best interests of both white and black. Justice always redounds to the common good. That Negro employees must show equal brain and skill, if the claims of the whites and their representative on the commission, Congressman Hardwick, are true, will result in the displacement of the Negro. But, judged by equal tests applied fairly, the relative number of Negro firemen will increase rather than diminish. If the Georgia Railroad will now demonstrate that it has employed the Negro because he is a better and not because he is a cheaper workman, the thrifty and ambitious Georgia Negro will rest content with the outcome of competition with his "poor white" neighbor.

But the courageous decision affecting the Georgia Railroad was only a small part of the issue involved. The issue, which the Commission tactfully omits to discuss, was race prejudice. It was the wild cry of the Southern rabble against Negro seniority and industrial equality. It was the diabolical demand of the irresponsible labor unionists that Negroes be excluded from the cabs of this and all other Southern railroads. It was the first open attempt to the Negro-hating South to keep the Negro in industrial serfdom. Had the strikers won their point for Negro exclusion, it would have been a powerful precedent to be invoked and followed whenever walking delegate or demagogue should raise the "race" cry. It would have meant great discouragement to the Negro, a great barrier to budding Southern prosperity.

That justice in this crisis in Georgia has prevailed, is a splendid compliment to the Georgians responsible. It gives the Negro race much satisfaction.

CONQUEST OF VIRGINIA

Perhaps the matter whose consummation during the last month is next in national and Negro significance was the trip of Booker T. Washington through Virginia, the State of his birth and hard beginning.

For the third time within a year Dr. Washington has accomplished this twentieth century miracle—the peaceful invasion and conquest of a Southern State. As in Mississippi last Fall and in South Carolina last Spring, he traversed the Old Dominion State from coast to corner, winning kindlier and closer relations between the races with his words of peace and progress. The following special to the *New York Sun* from Suffolk, Va., illustrates the almost incredible hold which Mr. Washington has upon the Southern whites and the remarkable reception accorded him throughout his trip of more than four hundred miles:

Suffolk paid marked honors to Booker T. Washington to-day. A line of automobiles tendered by bankers and business men met him at the station, and seated by Mayor Norfleet he rode in the band heralded procession through the principal streets. In another car were Col. MacLeary, Dr. Campbell and N. R. Withers, the special council committee on entertainment.

Carrying out the plans made with the late H. H. Rogers, Mr. Washington traveled in a magnificent special car over the magnate's new Virginia railway, making stops at the larger cities and rear platform speeches to the assembled crowds at the smaller stations. There, as elsewhere, he portrayed to his mixed audiences the race's relations with complete candor,

urging upon his white auditors confidence in and justice for the Negro and on his own race thrift and good cheer.

THE LOSS OF FRIENDS

During the month of June the Negro lost two of his best friends. This came in the passing of H. H. Rogers, the second great magnate in control of the Standard Oil Company, and the passing of Edward Everett Hale. The extent of the former's benefaction to Negro uplift and education may never be known, but through Dr. Booker T. Washington it has just become known that for the last fifteen years at least he had given anonymously but freely and largely. At the time of his death he was helping at least sixty-five colored institutions scattered over the Southland.

SALVATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

The four British colonies of Capetown, Natal, Orange River, and Transvaal, by reason of Natal's agreement, will soon be united into the Federation of South Africa. The new federal government, with the vice-governor appointed directly by the English crown, will be inaugurated within a year. It has only been since the present Asquith ministry came into power that the conquered South African colonies have had any considerable measure of self-government. That the royal government may win a heartier co-operation upon the part of the predominating Dutch inhabitants of Cape Colony, Orange River, and the Transvaal, their liberal government will probably continue. The

Dutch have been charged with extreme prejudice and oppression of the African natives.

In any case, the lot of the African should gradually improve under the United Government. As in all her colonies, as in Jamaica, the English govern-

ment will probably rule by giving the natives a large measure of self-government. As in the older English colony on the Cape, where the natives have the restricted franchise and school privilege, there must eventually be uniform treatment throughout the union.

ON TO LOUISVILLE

The Ninth Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League
Will Be Held August 18, 19, 20.

It will be one of the most interesting conventions he'd since the organization of the league in Boston nine years ago. The work done under the presidency of Dr. Booker T. Washington, and his official staff has been most helpful to the Negro. The membership is constantly on the increase. A cordial invitation to individuals engaged in worthy business enterprises is extended to join and be present at the meeting in Louisville, Ky. The joining fee is \$2.00, this fee entitles the delegate to all privileges for one year, and \$25.00 makes you a life member. Many entertainments are being planned by the local committee for the visiting

delegates. A special rate of a fare and a third, plus 50 cents has been secured. It will be worth the trip to hear what the Negroes of Mississippi are doing. In fact, you meet men and women who are doing things, and you will be encouraged to return to your home and tell the story to others, who will become enthused and begin to do things themselves. Begin to arrange to make this trip, board will be reasonable. The people of Louisville will extend you a hearty welcome. For general information, write the Secretary, Mr. Emmett J. Scott, Tuskegee Institute, Ala. and for information as to transportation, Mr. Cyrus Field Adams, 934 S Street, N.W. Washington, D.C.





ROSCOE CONKLING BRUCE

The Stimulus of Negro Teaching

Speech of Assistant Superintendent Roscoe Conkling Bruce in awarding scholarships to graduates of Normal School No. 2, M Street High School, and Armstrong Manual Training School at the joint commencement in Convention Hall June 18, 1909.

The elimination of pupils from school has been recently studied by a statistical expert, with the result of bringing into clear relief the severely selective character of the school's life. Less than one-tenth of the children entering the public schools of the more happily circumstanced American cities remain to graduate from the high school. It is conservatively estimated that "the general tendency of American cities of 25,000 and over is . . . to keep in school out of 100 entering pupils 90 until grade 4, 81 till grade 5, 68 till grade 6, 54 till grade 7, 40 till the last grammar grade . . . 27 till the first high school grade, 17 till the second, 12 till the third, and 8 till the fourth." The causes of this rapid elimination of pupils are various; among them may be mentioned the family's poverty, the pupil's failure to meet the mental and moral demands of the school's life, the school's lack of adjustment to the interests and aptitudes of the particular pupil, and to the actual needs of the specific community.

Of the 198 students on this platform to-night 176 have continued their schooling through at least twelve years of their young lives. Ninety graduated from a secondary school of literary type, and thirty-five from the four-year courses,

and twenty-two from the two-year courses of a secondary school, which utilizes the materials and processes of the arts and crafts, together with those of secondary mathematics and chemistry and literature, for the purposes of general education. Of the 198 students the forty-seven graduates of the two-year normal courses have spent fourteen years in school, and the four college men who graduate from the one-year normal course have spent seventeen years. If one pictures for a moment the more obscure careers of the thousands of boys and girls who entered school with these graduates from twelve to seventeen years ago, but, weighted down by this or that, sank one by one beneath the surface of the stream of scholastic advance, he begins to appreciate how severe and how wasteful has been the long and tortuous process of selection through which these fortunate and gifted youth whom we honor to-night have passed.

Be it remembered that, for example, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and in Philadelphia the proportion of the Negro graduates from the high and normal schools to the Negro school population is ridiculously—I should say, pathetically—small in comparison with the proportion Washingtonians may boast. Who

shall say that the credit for the prominence we here enjoy does not largely lie in the fact that teachers of the same blood and traditions with their pupils stimulate those pupils first by faith and second by works—I mean, by example?

Each of these young men and women before you has developed a well-defined—let us hope, an integral rather than a fragmentary—personality. Each is known to his teachers and his fellows for special qualities, interests, powers, which announce his individuality. Now, one function of the school—and certainly not the least important—is early to discover the deftness to develop by appropriate opportunities and discipline the particular talents of the individual child. The school no longer seeks to suppress manifold individuality in the interest of a stereotyped character; it seeks to develop and to enrich, to define and to inspire, the individual.

The donors of sundry scholarships which I have the honor to present have rendered a far-reaching public service in thus encouraging our gifted youth to prolong their general education and to seek professional training. Some of these scholarships lead immediately to professional study; others offer opportunity for that liberal education which is the adequate foundation for the most serviceable professional career.

Now, no words of mine are needful to enforce the proposition that great bodies of teachers, preachers, physicians, lawyers, engineers, and business men of really liberal education and genuinely technical training are at once indispensable to the progressive well-being of the Ne-

gro people in America and vital to the security of American institutions. Of these professions that of the business man and that of the engineer are to-day not provided for by any of the separate schools for Negroes throughout the land; to schools, then, like the Institute of Technology, in Boston, and the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, it is to be hoped, some of our young men will go. The nine scholarships generously provided by our own Teachers College of Howard University emphasize the fact that teaching, too, is neither a trade nor a field of casual labor, but a great profession. Every consideration of national interest and public welfare demands the encouragement of our young men and women to equip themselves in the higher institutions for varied and efficient leadership.

Graduates of the colored secondary and normal schools of the District of Columbia—the nation's schools—have set a high example to Negro youth throughout the land; they have won distinction for scholarship and character in the fine academic life of New England, and they have won the laurels of service by leadership, both technical and broadly social, here at home. I cannot forbear remarking that I myself have seen graduates of our normal school joyfully placing their superior education and training at the service of the Negro people in public and private schools not only in Maryland and Virginia, but also in Georgia and Alabama and Mississippi.

Our hope and prayer and faith to-night are that these 198 robust and gifted young men and women will feel the re-

sponsibilities that their unusual opportunities and these honorable traditions place upon them, and by their works will illustrate the truth that a life which is not growth and service is no life at all.

M Street High School:

One scholarship in Dartmouth College is awarded to William M. Dent.

One scholarship in the College of Arts and Sciences of Howard University is awarded to Miss Elizabeth Bertha Miller.

One scholarship in Teachers College of Howard University is awarded to Miss Edna Harriet Brown.

One scholarship in Teachers College of Howard University is awarded to Miss Marguerite Ferguson.

One scholarship in Teachers College of Howard University is awarded to Miss Fannie Louise Davis.

One scholarship in the Dental School of Howard University is awarded to Harry Ulysses Jacobs.

One scholarship in the Pharmaceutical School of Howard University is awarded to Elmore Martin Crutchfield. This scholarship was awarded as a result of competitive examination between pupils of the M Street High School and the

Armstrong Manual Training School.

Armstrong Manual Training School:

One scholarship in the College of Arts and Sciences of Howard University is awarded to Miss Florence Rosetta Letcher.

One scholarship in Teachers College of Howard University is awarded to William Alexander Conaway, Jr.

One scholarship in Teachers College of Howard University is awarded to Almolier Burnett Gillison.

One scholarship in Teachers College of Howard University is awarded to Charles Edward Robinson.

One scholarship in the Vienna Ladies' Tailoring and Millinery Institute, of New York City, is awarded to Miss Arnita Constantia Lomack.

Normal School No. 2:

One scholarship in Teachers College of Howard University is awarded to Miss Euphemia Rosalie Lofton.

One scholarship in Teachers College of Howard University is awarded to Miss Gladys Freeman.

One scholarship in Teachers College of Howard University is awarded to Miss Isabella Lewis.



AFRICA'S CALL

On the day of meeting
 Life enraptured stands,
 Glowing with the beauty
 From Earth's pensive strands!
 Can we hear the murmur?
 Can we see the glow?
 Borne upon the breezes
 O'er the Eastern snow?
 Only on the sighing
 When the day is done
 Afric's sweet, majestic
 Call will come!

Oh! Thou land of shadows;
 Oh! Thou land of pain;
 Is there still no comfort
 For thy sons to gain?
 What if thou wert resting
 On a rock of might—
 Wouldst thou see the noontide;
 Wouldst thou know the light?
 Have thine ears been muffled?
 Have thine eyes grown dim?
 With the constant watching
 For the glorious Spring?

Is not hope within thee—
 Is the dawn of joy—
 Not replete with beauty
 Pure without alloy?
 Oh! Poor Afric brother,
 Fear not for the Light;

Light is glowing Westward
 With a herald's might!
 Yes, to you is coming
 Golden harvest clear,
 And the day is dawning
 When thy day is here!

Midnight, dawn and noontide
 Are the mystic times,
 When thy golden chalice
 Is filled with new wine.
 So the hours of watching
 Bring their own reward,
 And in God's own Spring-time
 Thine shall have full guard!
 Faint not, then, O brother;
 Seize the golden hour,
 Carry to thy brethren
 Hope's fruition now!

Won shall be thy homeland,
 Afric waits for thee;
 Seize the glorious present,
 Haste across the sea.
 Land upon thine own shore,
 Press thy brother's hand,
 Give to him the knowledge
 Gained on other strands.
 Thus the might of kinship
 Shall fulfil its end;
 United with the homeland
 Thy joys shall have no end.
 IDA DE HOUGHTON CROOKE.

Economic Analysis of American Prejudice

By DR. WILLIAM L. BULKLEY



WISH to preface my argument with the following indictment:

Race prejudice in the South (1) Does not recognize the value of an intelligent, contented laboring class.

(2) Closes the door to occupations requiring skill and responsibility.

(3) Drives out of the South, by humiliating and oppressive laws and practices, many of its most desirable citizens.

(4) Forces across the line thousands of mixed bloods.

(5) Forces into the ranks of unskilled labor in the North and West many who are skilled.

Leaving out of consideration for the time being the humanitarian, the civil, or political aspects of the race question, and considering it from a purely economic standpoint, no part of this country, North, South, East or West, ought to continue the unjust industrial restrictions upon us as a people. In the North these restrictions act as an injustice to the weaker race, but do not cause any perceptible economic loss to the community. In the South, on the contrary, any limitation put upon the development of the Negro in any line of manual labor or skill seriously affects its economic development. Already is this loss to its industrial life evident in the desperate efforts exerted

to induce European immigration. But the suggestion that this need of more and better labor is caused by her sins of omission or commission would doubtless meet from the South the most robust denials. And yet any thoughtful student of economics would readily see that this lack of reliable labor is, at least in part, due to the absence of effort on the part of the South to enlighten, to encourage and to render contented its laboring classes. With the exception of a makeshift of a school lasting for a few weeks each year, the South offers its farming masses absolutely no other inducement to a larger and better life. Little wonder is it that there are hundreds of thousands of acres cultivated in the same sort of indifferent way year after year.

And, again, from the ranks of skilled labor, race oppression is driving out of the South a host of the best Negroes, best in culture of mind, best in sturdiness of character, best in skill of hand. A census of the Negroes in any city in the North would show that the majority of the most progressive of them, whether in the professions, in business, or in the trades, were more or less recent arrivals from the South. Can the South afford to lose this class? Can any country afford to drive out its best? Does not the South need the influence of such men and women over

the ignorant, the idle, or the depraved of our race? Is it wise to make living conditions so unbearable that only the most ignorant or the most unworthy are contented to remain and endure with the characteristic grin of a syco-phrant?

The desirable, the progressive, the intelligent Negroes who remain South are there for one of two reasons: (1) because they can't get away; or (2) because they feel they ought to stay and suffer with their own. And all these heave from the depths of their hearts the despairing cry, "How long, O Lord, How long?"

If only a small part of the time that is devoted to schemes to restrict, to humiliate, and to oppress the Negroes were spent in an effort to study means by which they might be made more intelligent, more thrifty as laborers, more skillful as artisans, more contented as citizens, there are few spots on the globe that would show so great an industrial awakening during the twentieth century.

Wise legislators in any community would endeavor to enact such laws or establish such customs as would develop a contented middle and a hopeful laboring class. Indeed, the North and West, with their attractive wages, with their excellent schools, libraries, reading-rooms, clubs, settlement houses, with a cordial welcome to full American citizenship, have beckoned invitingly the millions of Europeans that make the wealth of these great sections of our nation. During these same years another part of our land has spent its time in

devising plans to keep down in dependence and hopelessness its millions of laborers, millions native to the soil, ready and willing to do whatever they are able for the development of the only land they know and the only land they care to know.

In the second place, there is a decided economic loss in keeping within the bounds of unskilled labor those who might do credit in the ranks of skilled labor, and yet that is what the South or any part of the country does when it inhibits and circumscribes the vocations of a part of its people. There are certain classes of skilled labor which it is not permitted a Negro to enter. In fact, my observation convinces me that even certain vocations which belonged almost exclusively to the Negroes ever since the days of slavery are fast being closed against them. The present railroad strike in Georgia illustrates this point. Parenthetically I may say that due credit should be given to the papers, North and South, that have rung out with no uncertain sound about this strike; and yet, it would seem impossible to counteract in one day in the year all the evil that these same papers do us in the other 364 days in written words or insinuations against us as a people. And so down the line there seems to be a purpose to restrict the Negroes within the limits of unskilled labor, to reduce them to a state which, while not nineteenth century slavery, may be twentieth century peonage.

Thirdly, as was suggested previously, the humiliating laws and practices are forcing out of the South thousands of

its best Negroes, Negroes who love their birthplace, love its balmy air, its sunny skies, its fertile fields, its luxuriant forests, the camaraderie of their kith and kin. To us there never cease to come times of yearning to revisit the old spots of our childhood and of our youth, to meet our brethren, to hear their tale of woe, to weep with them over their distresses, to rejoice with them in their successes, to share with them the soul-refreshings that only a Negro revival can give. How near they seem to get to the great loving heart of God in their deep, religious fervor, and childlike trustfulness! But when our yearning seizes us, there appears before us the spectral hand of blighting prejudice, inviting uninvitingly.

I never cease to wonder whether farsighted white men of the South see the loss in letting so many of their best Negroes leave; whether they ever think it would be wise to abate their prejudices to the extent of consulting with us for some ground of mutual understanding and sympathy. It is too high a compliment to be credible that we have developed such a large class of desirables that the thousands who leave are easily spared. If a community seeks to acquire and to retain the largest possible number of upright, cultured, property-holding, progressive people, it should inquire into the causes that drive out and keep out this very class. But has there been a single act of a Southern legislature in thirty-five years aimed to render more comfortable the lot of that class of Negroes who, out of great tribulation, have struggled up and are still strug-

gling up, and rearing their families into clean and commendable manhood and womanhood?

We are needed in the South, needed to help our brethren up, needed to give our white neighbors the assurance of our confidence, needed to join with all honest and earnest men for regeneration of the land of our birth, scarred by slavery, blighted by the ravages of war, crippled by years of post-bellum misrule, hampered by narrow, near-sighted, selfish prejudice. There is not one of us who would not gladly go back home if we did not know that every right dear to any full man has been ruthlessly torn from our grasp. Gladly would we rush to the embrace of our loved ones in bonds, but we cannot, we cannot.

In the fourth place, we do not get the full economic credit due to us, because of the loss of a host of mixed-bloods who cross the line. Even in the South this crossing occasionally happens. Sometimes the whites know it and wink at it, as was evidenced some time ago in the South Carolina State Constitutional Convention in a speech by Mr. Tillman, brother of Senator Tillman. There is scarcely a colored man who could not tell of some friend or relative who has crossed the line North or South, now prominent in business, professors in institutions of learning, married into good society, and rearing families that have no dreams of the depths that their parent has escaped. We could tell the story, if we would—but who would be the knave to disturb their peace?

And thus, as another result of prejudice, we lose the credit that should come

to us from the varied abilities of those, now across the line, but none the less belonging in the general classification of that misnomer, Negro.

Lastly, intolerance drives the ambitious, competent skilled laborer out of the South, but in coming into the North he meets an industrial competition which he had not figured on. Here he finds the field of skilled labor preempted by the native white man and the foreigner. They guard jealously all approaches to it, whether threatened by Negro or Jap or Chinaman, or what not. The new arrival attributes to prejudice the difficulties he encounters. I can hardly believe that it is prejudice that keeps Negroes out of the industrial fields in the North as much as other reasons.

Only to-day I was talking with a young man, a graduate of Hampton, who has worked his way up to a successful upholstery business in this city. He said, "I had a hard time at first because people didn't believe a colored man could do upholstery work satisfactorily. Now that I have made good, I get plenty of work." I could weary you with numerous instances of this kind.

There are, as I see it, three chief reasons why we are not working easily into the skilled trades in the North; (1) Skepticism as to our ability; (2) The already crowded labor market that looks with disfavor upon inroads from any source; (3) A feeling, which I think is human, viz.: the pleasure found in knocking the weaker fellow. Joseph Bernstein and Max Robinsky would not likely have any feeling against Jim Smith as a man, but as Joseph and Max have

just come from a kicking themselves there may be some comfort in finding the chance to try the dose on another fellow. So, Pat O'Flannagan does not have the least thing in the world against Jim from Dixie, but it didn't take Pat long after saluting the Statue of Liberty to learn that it is popular in this "land of the free" to give Jim a whack. He would be a little more human if he did not want to try on Jim what his English lord had so long tried on him.

These people who have escaped the persecutions and the class proscriptions of Europe feel a newly awakened consciousness that they are not after all the bottom of the heap. They would strike in like manner against any other individual, or religion, or language, or race, provided that they were prompted to it by prevailing custom.

Labor discriminations in the North are not deep-seated and ineradicable. It is impossible to educate the youth of a land in the same schools, in the same classes, side by side in their recitations, united in their sports, shouting the same yell, feeling the same thrill at the success of their colleagues, whether white or yellow or brown or black, without at the same time developing a better understanding with each other, a kindlier feeling toward each other.

The thing we call race prejudice in the North differs from race prejudice in the South as a skin-affection differs from scrofula. The latter is organic, in the very blood, drawn in with the mother's milk and fed by the virus of public sentiment. The other is superficial, readily

subject to treatment, and not difficult to cure.

But whatever may be the outcome of the people who leave the South there is one thing certain—the South is losing a class of citizens which it should wish to retain. Men and women of culture and of character are needed in every community, and in no place more than the South, but when the Southern whites, by every conceivable means, humiliate, proscribe, and hamper the best of us, there should be no surprise if we seek more congenial climes, where we can at least protect our wives and daughters from the contumely that in the South the lowest white man can heap upon them with absolute impunity.

Whither are we tending? Are we drifting with a sort of fatalistic indifference? Or is there a purpose behind all these restrictions, all these proscriptions, all this oppression?

Leave these millions of Negroes to battle along with this terrible weight with which they are now burdened and they would prove themselves little better than mortals if they did not follow the lines of least resistance and sink lower into indolence, vagrancy and criminality. You may deprive a man of the right to vote, but you cannot deprive him of the right to steal.

Give them encouragement. Offer them incentives for intelligence, for skill, for sobriety, for character. Let them feel that as they push themselves out of the quagmire they will be recognized on their merits. Reward industry. Recognize proved ability.

But if, for the sake of argument, it

be granted that they are all that their most virulent enemies charge them with being, so much greater is the need of sparing no efforts for their uplift, not so much for their sakes as for your sakes. If it were only one man or a hundred men, there might be some hope of their dying or some way might be suggested to get rid of them; but here is a race of 10,000,000, as many people as are in all British America and all Central America; they are not dying out; they are not going to die out. As I see it there are only four things possible: (1) Expatriate them; (2) Annihilate them; (3) Degrade them; (4) Elevate them. If they remain here and are allowed no incentives to pull upward, it must follow, as the night the day, they will surely run downward.

To work in any way that one has the ability should be the inalienable right of every American citizen. A child may be born poor, but he should not be forbidden to struggle out of poverty by any honest toil.

A clean, attractive, honest-looking young man came to my office last week to see if I could help him. He stated that he is a Junior in the pharmaceutical course at Columbia. He desires to spend his vacation in a wholesale drug concern for the sake of needed information and experience. He had written to several drug establishments in this city. He received replies to call, intimating that there were opportunities for work. He stated that he had just come from a useless round of visits to the stores, for the proprietors had suddenly changed their minds on seeing him.

Now, that young man is good enough to sit by the side of and work with the best in Columbia University; is it not presumable that he is good enough to work out in the world by the side of those who are no better than his mates in college?

We do not ask for charity; all we ask is opportunity. We do not beg for alms; we beg only for a chance.

The right to work; opportunity to work; encouragement to work; reward for work; this is all we ask; less than this should not be given.

Lines of Progress

By REV. GEORGE GILBERT WALKER

It is a fact patent to even the casual observer that we, as a race, are in the midst of the most important period of our development—the formative period. We are nearing the crisis of our history as a people. We are arriving at the time when we will see brought to a focus all that we have produced and accomplished. And should that focus reveal a lack of foundation, a lack of thoroughness in our progress, we will be forced back into the ranks of unprogressive and decadent peoples.

We are nearing the crisis of our development. As individuals and as a people we must recognize this. We must be serious, very serious. We must be earnest, very earnest in applying our best thought to our condition, and in endeavoring to order our lives and our progress so as to produce worthy and adequate results.

We must make emphatic our progress in the essentials of the higher life. Rather than pay too much attention to insignificant and non-essential things, we must be sedulous in working out impor-

tant principles and essential things. A qualitative rather than a quantitative development is what will produce a sterling people. That we are a little too eager for numbers and amount, and not eager enough for quality and fitness, is a just criticism. And it is for us to see that our development takes the lines of strong and deep growth in essential factors of the higher civilization. Christian character, intelligent industry, mastery in trades, professions, the arts and sciences, agriculture, social relationships are the necessary factors of an advanced people. Our progress must be in these things. And in these things it must make steadily for greater attainment, greater breadth, greater service and efficiency.

Our progress must be sound progress, lasting progress. No shallow or merely apparent advancement will stand us in hand. We must advance to stay advanced and to go to greater things. Too many of us are satisfied with what is easily got; we forget that sound progress, lasting progress comes only with

great labor, infinite pains, constant application of head, heart and hands. Concentration of effort is absolutely necessary to real sound achievement. Years rather than days make efficiency possible, and yet, years are made up of days, aye, moments.

A deep earnestness must actuate our ambitions and hopes. No progress is made without earnestness. When dealing with the essential things of life we must be very serious, and not until, as a race, we recognize this will we, as a race, be really progressive. Our churches, our educational institutions, our industrial and commercial interests are progressive, and will be progressive only in so far as they are actuated by the earnestness born of intelligent ambition and consecrated hope.

Leaders are necessary to progress, and our progress will be sound and lasting according to the ability of those whom we allow to lead us. Our leaders of all kinds and in every sphere must be able to lead. We must put our confidence in men of sound Christian character, sound scholarship and executive ability. Questionable scholastic degrees, meagre attainment and understanding must be found less often among our leaders as we rise in the scale of progress. Concerning this we must be most careful. To trust essential and vital in-

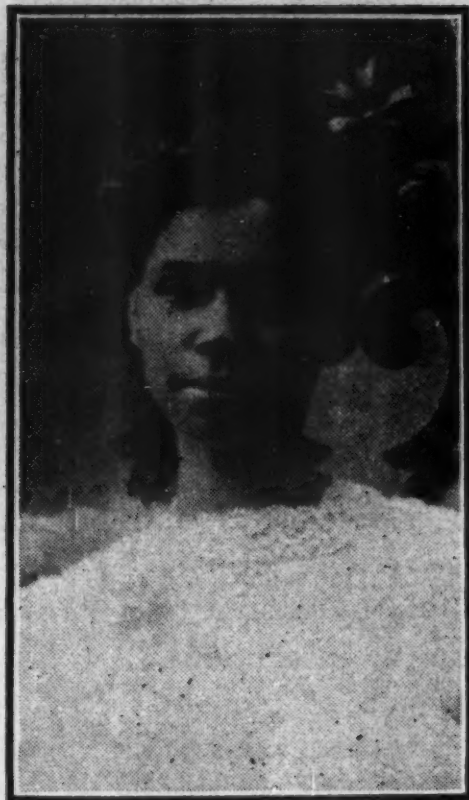
terests in the hands of ignorant and bigoted men is childish in the extreme. We have good men among us, who are in responsible positions, and it is imperative that we recognize them and allow them to carry forward their work, giving them our moral and material support in all things making for intelligent Christian progress.

Leadership implies organization and fitness of organization. Only from sound organization can adequate progressive results be expected. Our organization along all lines must be intelligent and progressive. Loose and inefficient effort must be shunned as a positive evil. We will produce valuable assets—mental, industrial, commercial, religious—only in so far as our efforts, our progressive efforts, are organized.

Let us not overlook race pride. Without pride of race nothing can be done. No man ashamed of his race ever grew to manly proportions. And with race pride let our efforts be put forth earnestly, ever looking forward to high and great ideals of Christian character, Christian scholarship, intelligent industry. Ideals of progressiveness, ideals of manhood, ideals of righteousness—these are the ideals which must become basic in our history, basic in our character, in our development.



MISS MARTHA M. FRANKLIN



MISS MYNTHA C. HAWKINS



MRS. ROSE L. WILLIAMS



MRS. EFFIE BROOKS WATKINS

Graduates from Training Department of Lincoln Home and Hospital

Lincoln Home and Hospital



MISS ADAH B. SAMUELS

Assistant Superintendent of Training Department

More than ten thousand patients last year in the Lincoln Home and Hospital established in 1845 as a Colored Home make that institution the largest private hospital of New York. Twenty-one young colored women graduating on January 14 from its Nurse Training Department make that institution one of the foremost training schools for colored women in the United States.

One of the vocations that should appeal strongly to well-educated Negro women is that of the profession of nursing. The calls for well-trained women are coming from many sources, and each year broader opportunities are presented. The hospitals, homes, physicians, offices, schools, orphan asylums,

day nurseries, settlements and societies for improvement of the poor are employing trained nurses in ever increasing numbers.

The work offers much aside from the handsome fees that appeals to women of broad minds and deep sympathies, bringing out the noblest qualities of mind and heart as well as training for the body. Outside of medical circles the work and its requirements are little understood, many having the idea that any willing, healthy woman who is sympathetic can train for a nurse. That is far from the truth. The nurse or candidate for nursing not only needs a sound body and a good English education, but she must be an intelligent woman of quick perception. The aims of schools for nursing are twofold; the intelligent care of the sick and principles of right living to maintain health.

Lincoln Hospital and Home is in a position second to no other Negro institution to give exceptional opportunities for nurse training. It is a large general hospital, located in the city of New York, having a capacity of four hundred beds for patients. It is governed by a Board of Lady Managers, who feel a deep interest in the School for Nurses, and many of them show a deep personal interest in the student nurses, keeping in touch with them after they leave the school. The managers feel this is one of the most efficient ways of educating women for meeting the problems of life.

The Medical Board of Attending Physicians and Surgeons shows an un-failing interest in the hospital and school, giving assistance in the teaching, not only by bedside instruction, but by a course of lectures during the winter months.

The school consists of forty-five pupil nurses. The supervision and teaching is done by the Superintendent of Nurses and his assistant, together with the help of four graduate nurses. All the officers with the exception of the superintendent are graduates of the school.

The course is not a complicated one, being arranged with an idea of practical needs. The period of probation covers six months, and the probationers are sent to the "home wards." They are under the careful supervision of a graduate nurse and the theory is followed by practical demonstrations. The nurses who stand this test are sent to the general wards as third and fourth nurses, assisting in the nursing of acute diseases. The second year nurses serve as night nurses and assistants to "charge" nurses. In the third year those who show fitness for executive work are

given charge of wards. The service in operating rooms comes during the third year.

The practical instruction in the care of the sick is carefully supervised by the officers of the school, and is supplemented by class work. This practical work gives ample opportunity for a thorough and varied experience in nursing in all its branches. It includes surgical, medical, obstetrical, gynecological nursing and the nursing of children, chronic and helpless patients.

Class instruction in anatomy, physiology, materia medica and the theory and practice of nursing are held regularly.

Examinations both written and oral are held at stated periods by the Examining Committee and the Superintendent of the school, and nurses cannot pass in graduation unless they attain on critical marking an average of at least seventy-five per cent. in each department.

When the full term of three years is completed the nurses receive, if they pass all the examinations and are otherwise satisfactory, the diploma and medal of the school.

Trinity of Slavery Poets

By JULIET M. BRADFORD

In the early part of the nineteenth century the world was given, among other writers, three of the greatest American poets, Longfellow, Lowell, and Whittier. Each of these poets

was a descendant of the Pilgrim Fathers, who settled in New England, having left their own land to go to some land where they could worship in freedom. They could not endure

the oppression of England. Thus, it was natural that these poets, gifted as they were, should use their influence against Slavery.

While all three of these poets opposed Slavery, their different natures caused them to think in different degrees of intensity. Longfellow was an abolitionist, but his quiet and retired nature unfitted him for the tasks of a bold public leader. During the agitation of Slavery he went across the ocean to Europe. On his voyage home while in his berth he wrote many of his verses, so full of pathos and the milk of human kindness, against that crime of all crimes. The printing of these caused some of his friends anxiety, as they thought that they would injure his popularity. But Sumner wrote him: "By those poems your name is fastened to an immortal truth." The titles of his Slavery poems are: "The Slave's Dream," "The Good part," "The Slave in the Dismal Swamp," "The Slave Singing at Midnight," "The Quadroon Girl," "To William E. Channing," and "The Warning." The last stanza of "The Warning" seems almost like a prophecy.

"There is a poor, blind Samson in this
land,
Shorn of his strength, and bound in
bonds of steel,
Who may, in some grim revel, raise
his hand,
And shake the pillars of this com-
monweal
Till the vast temple of our liberties

A shapeless mass of wreck and rubbish
lies."

In another of his poems Longfellow has written the following:

"Paul and Silas in their prison
Sang of Christ the Lord arisen;
And an earthquake's arm of might
Broke their dungeon gates at night.
But, alas! what holy angel
Brings the slave this glad evangel?
And what earthquake's arm of might
Breaks his dungeon gates at night?"

Characteristic of that gentle, musing nature, the lines of Longfellow stirred the public to deep meditation, to regretful resignation over inexorable circumstances. Not so with the other muses of the trinity.

Lowell was of a strong, positive nature, and his confidence in the indestructibility of truth was unwavering. He was a man who did not dread to be unpopular when on the side of right, but in all things had the courage of his convictions. He was in entire sympathy with Garrison, Phillips and Sumner, noted lovers of freedom, and was fearless and enthusiastic for the deliverance of slaves. Lowell has said:

"They are slaves most base whose
love of right is for themselves, and not
for all their race." Of Slavery itself
he has said:

"Slavery, the earth-born Cyclops, fellest
of the giant blood,
Sons of brutish Force and Darkness,
who have drenched the earth
with blood,

Famished in his self-made desert,
 blinded by our purer day,
 Gropes in yet unblasted regions for his
 miserable prey;
 Shall we guide his gory fingers where
 our helpless children play?"

Lowell forged his thunderbolts in rhymed anathemas against the great peril of the nation. Patriotic citizens and thoughtful statesmen took aggressive thought, biding their time, devising the means to rid the nation of its body of death.

Longfellow was calm, Lowell was vigorous, but Whittier was intense in expressing his opposition to Slavery. Whittier considered Slavery a crime, and did not lack the courage and boldness to make his opinion known. Several times he was attacked by mobs, and for a number of years risked his life for the cause by uniting with Garrison in the printing of material which dealt fairly and yet severely with the Slavery question. He knew full well that he was building up a vast wall between himself and success. During the time of the agitation he was very unpopular as a poet, but after the turmoil had subsided he was again held in high esteem by all both as man and as poet.

Whittier was chosen delegate to the Anti-Slavery Convention at Philadelphia in 1833, and placed his signature to a "Declaration of Principles" drafted by Garrison. In speaking of this declaration many years later he said: "I set a higher value on my name as appended to the Anti-Slavery Declara-

tion of 1833 than on the title-page of any book." It can hardly be doubted that these words came from the man's inmost soul. Of course, he held his books and writings in high esteem, but his value of lives was higher.

Among Whittier's poems on Slavery "The Slave Ship" may be considered the most pitiful. The sympathetic way in which he has written this poem has thrilled the hearts of all lovers of freedom and of humanity. But there are others of his poems which show to a greater extent his burning indignation. He said:

"What, ho! our countrymen in chains!
 The whip on woman's shrinking
 flesh!

Our soil yet reddening with the stains
 Caught from her scourging, warm
 and fresh!

What? Mothers from their children
 riven!

What? God's own image bought and
 sold?

Americans to market driven, and
 bartered as the brute for gold?

"Speak! Shall their agony of prayer
 Come thrilling to our hearts in vain?
 To us whose fathers scorned to bear
 The paltry menace of a chain;

To us, whose boast is loud and strong
 Of holy Liberty and Light—

Say, shall these writhing slaves of
 wrong

Plead vainly for their plundered
 right?"

Whittier was the orpheic firebrand of abolitionists, inciting, aiding and

abetting the slavery destroyers, whose head was none other than John Brown, the hero of Ossawatimie and Harpers Ferry. Yet Whittier, too, was capable of the more conservative and philosophic appeal, as when he said:

"The laws of changeless justice bind
Oppressor with oppressed;

And close as sin and suffering joined,
We march to fate abreast."

When thoughts of our lowly origin and the night of Slavery and our present wrongs cause us to shudder and grow sick at heart, let us turn in grateful reverence for inspiration and comfort to the trinity of Slavery poets.

DE NEGRO PROBLEM

I come all de way from Slav'ry,
Up untwell dis present day;
Done stood all dese hardships brav'ly,
Now um guinter have my say.

Talk don't make de job no lesser,
'Rousing ev'rybody so;
'Course I aint no great big Fesser,
But I knows how it should go.

Way ter start at dis here zample,
Learn ter treat yo' neighbors right;
Pav yo' debts up good and ample,
Dat will work it out er sight.

Hush dis talk 'bout soshal qual'ty,
Dat will tek kere of hitself;
Own yo' homes so people can see,
What you doing wid yo'self.

Teach all dem dats down below you,
How you got up where you's at;
Dis gwine up by yo'self won't do,
You can't git no where at dat.

Now you's gitten at de s'lution,
Figger hard and den you'll find;
All don't come in contribution,
So you git dat out yo' mind.

You must keep yo' mind in action,
Busy working lak a jerm;
Dis don't work in common fraction,
Complex Bud in ev'ry term.

He'p de man dat is yo' leader,
Strive to he'p him ter succeed;
All of us can't be no reader,
But let's lissen, den tek heed.

Aint dis problem working nicely,
Placing figgers where dey fit;
I done thought dis thing out wisely,
And I'll fetch de answer yit.

Bless yo' life, let's love one 'nother,
Dat's de greatest thing uv all;
For de Lord done said, my brother,
All dese 'vided house shall fall.

De answer lays twix dese two things,
Moral character and love;
Around dese pints our blessing clings,
God will send dem fum above.

Now when you gits firmly 'cided,
And to God yo' done resolved;
All yo' hopes in him confided,
"Negro problem" den is solved.

W. E. DANCER, in *Tuskegee Messenger*.

I Am a College Negro Problem

By HALLIE E. QUEEN



How does it feel to be a problem? I am one of the army of those who have never been anything else, yet my experiences have been unique.

I received my early training in a preparatory school for Afro-American youth. In June, 1908, I was graduated from one of the great Eastern universities. Always, from the people around me came the question, sometimes article, sometimes suggested, "How have you borne these four years, and what have they meant to you?" To day in the midst of the tur-

moil of prejudice and agitation for social equality, I send out my answer, hoping that it may not miscarry in its mission.

Our university is distinctly cosmopolitan. I learned, from a member of the Cosmopolitan Club, that there were registered in 1907 representatives of thirty-one nationalities, and students from forty-four of the United States. Throughout my course I was the only Negro member of my class. When I entered I found, as I now remember, among the thirty-four hundred matriculated students seven individuals bearing acknowledged traces of Negro blood. One of these, a young woman, graduated with the class of 1905, being the only colored woman who has been elected to the Phi Beta Kappa in America. The others, all men, passed on with their classes. Several colored students entered after my freshman year, and in 1908 one young man took the degree of Master of Arts from the Department of History and Political Science.

There was not absent from the university the usual small quota who bearing slight traces of Negro blood said nothing about their racial connections. I distinctly remember that I came into daily contact with a girl whom I knew to be colored, but who at the university was "passing" as white. She was very popular and lived in the most exclusive society house. As Ray Stannard Baker



HALLIE E. QUEEN

says: "Not even the white man knows where the color line ends." The social life is undoubtedly the most acute point of contact of the two races, whether in student life or in the outer world. Although I am an optimist, or as Mr. Baker would say, an opportunist, often I have felt with the hero of Alt Heidelberg—"Einem einzigen haben, der jetzt dasatze und sprache; 'das ist nicht anders du mustat das ertragen'." For often it is hard to bear. One incident I shall never forget. Just at the close of my Junior year the alumnae of the university established a lodge for the benefit of girls who did not feel that they could pay the high dormitory prices. I was one of the upper classwomen called into council to discuss the feasibility of having the house, and when the question was decided, I was one of the first to send in my application. I give the answer verbatim because it may serve to show something of the methods which people employed to keep from saying to me, "you are black; we don't want you."

My dear Miss ———:

The Directors of the Alumnae House Association, at their last meeting to-day, decided that as you were perfectly able to pay regular prices of board, it was not deemed wise to admit you to the House, as it is the aim of the Association to accommodate first those who wish to economize.

And this, too, was sent to me in the face of the fact that on the Board were several ladies for whom I had often done stenographic and other work to help defray my expenses. At first, I was bitter; later I took it as a joke. Had

they told me the truth, I would have understood. I knew that I was qualified to enter the House, yet I faced, silently, my paradox. I never answered the letter. I made no protest. What would have been the use?

As to the purely social functions I suffered but little. This may have been due to the fact that I had the good sense to stay away from a number of places where my presence would have made myself and others miserable. No one attempted to keep me from a Sophomore Cotillion or a Junior "Prom," but I never went. To whatever festivities were given by the girls alone, I was a welcome addition, but when men came in "ay, there's the rub." So far as afternoon receptions and teas were concerned, I fared well. This was due greatly to the fact that I had social entree to the home of a man who besides being our ex-president, has been American Ambassador to several foreign countries and was president of the first Hague Peace Conference.

Turning aside from the social, let us consider the intellectual life. Our university is not famous for a patronizing attitude toward its colored students. There is, in the charter, a phrase which prevents our exclusion. So we come. As with biological types, we adapt ourselves, migrate, or are destroyed so far as university life is concerned. I became adapted. Let me outline a part of one of my days to you: It is a quarter to eight. The chimes ring out from the tower. I start across the campus without any overpowering sense of the pigment of my skin. Quite likely in my

short walk across the quadrangle I shall exchange "good morning" with two or with me into a classroom? All about it are wealthy men, many of them fraternity members, one, the son of the president of the university, another the captain of the 'Varsity football team. The girl who has kept a seat for me is the Countess K—— of Russian Poland studying for a few years in Cosmopolitan America. You might think that the young man on the opposite side of the room is also a Negro, but he hastens to assure you that he is a member of the priestly caste of Calcutta, India. Nothing disagreeable happens at this hour. The room is crowded and every student has caught the noble spirit of the man who lectures to us in "Political Economy, 51." But as I leave this room and hasten across the campus to another building I always have to shut my teeth, hard. I go to a Seminar where a group of eight advanced students are working out special problems. It is unfortunate that the girl just across from me should be filled with the Georgia spirit and I with Negro blood. How hard it was for her at first and how I pitied her! Still I offered no objection when she wished to borrow my notes to "copy up" some lectures. Yet, more and more I reached the conclusion that prejudice is not entirely sectional. It is only that the Southern form touches at certain points, usually social, and the Northern form certain others, usually economic.

From the faculty I received fair play. Because of my peculiar position in the university I was known by a majority of the men who constitute the faculty

of the eight colleges which make up our university. The president accorded me every consideration and my professors always gave me full credit for my work. This was all I wished. Did they object to my being in the classroom—those blue-eyed, wealth-pampered Anglo-Americans? Did they object to me, those sturdy, hard working students? Did they object to me—that sprinkling of foreigners who were imbibing American training? I knew not, and I cared not. This alone I knew: that my ears were open to what they heard; that my mind was receptive of what they gained, and, sublimest truth of all, I know that in this generation of my people nothing counts for anything save as it helps to lay the foundation of the coming age. For we are a foundation; nay, only a part of that, for surely more than two generations of free individuals are necessary to produce a people.

"No longer half akin to brute,
For all we think and love and do,
And hope and suffer is but seed
Of what in them is flower and fruit."

You will not think from what I have said that the colored student finds ideal or even satisfying conditions in the white university. I know a young man full of rich promise, bearing in his veins traces of Negro ancestry who entered the university, became embittered by existing conditions (yet remained to graduate) and died within two months after commencement, without ever having heard "that deeper voice across the storm" of little things that crushed him and held him down. Yet it is hard to live in this day of storm and stress. I myself was

often bitter. Many times have I crossed the campus almost blinded by anger at some shot which I felt had been aimed at my race. Often have I hastened back of the Library to the seat placed there by the honored first president and his wife, which seat bears in part this inscription: "To those who sit here sorrowing—greeting." And there, with the beautiful lake flowing softly away from me, and the purple mist resting on the rolling hills, I have felt that all is indeed well. For I was learning to bear things and to focus my eyes beyond things.

And, so, looking back upon my university life as a memory, I am glad to say that I am not bitter. To-day, in the red land of storm and stress, I sit and gaze across the barren fields of clay and

try to see far, far beyond their distance, the rugged gorges and purple hills of my college town. I strive to hear the chimes and to look across the lake, to where the sun, on cloudless evenings, hangs like a ball of fire in the Western sky. And, when I find it all in vain, the tears come into my eyes: there is no bitterness in my heart as I sing softly, words of our Alumni song:

"I am thinking to-day of my old college town,

O! those days were the best I have known."

And then I hum the sweetest song of all, "Alma Mater," and thoughts of prejudice and sectional feeling die away. For the vision never failed, and it was good for me to be there.

The Public Conscience of Georgia

By GARFIELD A. CURRY

In spite of all that may be said to the contrary, the fact remains that never before in the history of the commonwealth of Georgia have so many beneficent ideas been propagated and so many manifestations of a great moral awakening taken place as in the last two years. Georgia has emerged from dusky shadows, from maze and mist, to take her place on the side of reason and truth; her deepest soul is being stirred with the breath of a new life, and we verily believe that this fair commonwealth, with its vast and productive area, is destined to grow upward

and outward to challenge the admiration of the world.

As this State has developed, factories have increased, and the mournful cry of labor has become a serious problem. In the light promises of factory labor families have been lured from their pure and serene country homes to experience a dreary and pitiless fate, in which parenthood has fallen from its priestly state, as children under the deafening clatter of machinery have become breadwinners. But this is a matter about which the State has become aroused since 1903, and the pub-

lic conscience of Georgia has pierced the sophistries by which men have bound children to the drudgery of mills without friends and without guardians. Georgia, seeing the need of legislation against child labor, followed in the footsteps of Massachusetts, and, in realizing the "Cry of Children," set forth by Mrs. Browning, she has declared that the child constitutes the heritage of both the past and the future, and that each boy and each girl must be protected in the development of the powers which God has given.

Similarly the matter of the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors has taken hold of the public mind of Georgia. Stirred with zeal and ambition, the people of the State, rising to action, have sought to put away this evil, which was so long

ago planted on American soil. In spite of things done in secret and of the doubt as to the near-beer sold, the public conscience of Georgia has been awakened. Georgia has not accomplished all she desires in the matter, but we rejoice at the brilliant efforts that have been put forth and the valuable fruit that has been harvested. Even granting the imperfection of the prohibition laws, we see from the record of the police court of the city of Atlanta that the total number of cases decreased from 22,013 in 1907 to 13,880 in 1908.

The voice that has cried out in the prohibition movement has sounded equally loud in denouncing the evils of the convict system. All last Summer the people of the State were interested in this as they have seldom been in a moral problem. With reference to this system in Georgia, radical and sweeping changes have already taken place, and soon the last traces of the lease system, which has been in disgraceful operation for more than thirty years, will speedily pass away. It was shown last Summer that many prisoners had been concealed in mines from the light of the sun for more than twenty years, but, now the principles of morality that have been taught in our schools are being considered in behalf of those in prison. Wholesome food, good treatment, care for the sick, and cleanliness of body have been found to be essential to convicts as well as to citizens. The sympathetic chords of suffering have been touched, and gradually the moral wrongs are being



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unveiled, and as a result of the evolution of events and recent legislation more than two thousand convicts have been distributed for care throughout the counties of Georgia, and juvenile reformatories have been established.

One of the greatest triumphs in this moral awakening has resulted from the election of Robert F. Maddox as mayor of Atlanta, which showed a desire on the part of the leading citizens of Atlanta to cultivate a cleaner civic life and a more healthy tone in the conduct of municipal affairs. Seldom has there been a campaign that attracted so much attention as that of last December, when men, disregarding factional lines, banded themselves together to struggle for a cleaner city. During the few months of his administration Mr. Maddox has, among other things, taken steps to revise the building laws, has repaired the pumps at the water works, has adopted a measure for the physical examination of children in the schools, and has endorsed the steps taken to increase the salaries of the teachers of the city. He has proven himself the ablest of financiers, and through the harmony he has brought about and the interest manifested for Atlanta's welfare he promises to become in the near future one of the greatest benefactors of the South.

But, sad to say, in considering the race question, some deny that Georgia has a public conscience. They look upon the State as a place above all others where lawlessness holds sway and justice is dethroned. With refer-

ence to the much agitated race question we must conclude that the public conscience of Georgia is yet to be aroused. Standing at this stage of our civilization, reviewing with pride and boasting the glorious achievement of the Empire State of the South, the question naturally arises whether we have unlimited right to boast when we see that she has not stood loyally by the ideals which she has established. The late prohibition law, the election of Governor Brown and that of Mayor Maddox did much to show to the world that the public conscience had been aroused for justice and right; but the legislature went a long way when it disregarded the Fifteenth Amendment and disfranchised the Negro. By this one measure thousands of my race have been deprived of political right by this State—thousands of whose fathers so nobly shouldered her guns in 1775 when she herself declared that taxation without representation was tyranny. Less than three years ago the blackest tragedy known in human history occurred in the city of Atlanta, and as we look about us we see that prejudice still stands in the way of justice. In spite of the glorious deeds that have been wrought, mob law still reigns supreme in many sections of our State, and Jim Crowism is yet an outstanding factor against our progress.

Much remains to be done along the line of education. Our children in the city have in many cases short hours in school, and in the rural districts they are crying for help, and their voices

are not heard. The salaries of teachers are frequently so low as to invite only the incapable, and year after year sees the situation become more serious and appalling. We send our little children to the public schools in the city of Atlanta, and in their early years, when they so much need proper guidance, we find that they are given short half-day sessions at the hands of overworked teachers—teachers who are forced to do twice as much work as they should be required to perform. What teacher can put forth her best energy when she has more than one hundred children to instruct in one day? When we compare this situation with that of the white schools the chasm yawns, and we are forced to the conclusion that the race is not fair, for the white boy is given every advantage over the Negro boy that can possibly be given. You brothers and sisters of mine whom I address to-day, this is a matter demanding your most serious attention.

We hear, moreover, as a result of the agitation about convict labor that reformatories for young white boys have been established in different counties of the State. How many are being es-

tablished by the State for the Negro boy? Not one. These are things that concern us, my friends, that concern your welfare and mine, and we are reminded to-day as a race we must do what we can to emancipate ourselves from these moral wrongs. Joining in the march, we must support our schools, stand by the Negro bank recently established in the city of Atlanta, lend our aid to the new insurance company, and keep a more vigilant eye upon all of our business enterprises. And we must be hopeful! Who can tell the new thoughts that are to be awakened and the ambition that is to be spurred on from this moral wave of which we have spoken? Who can tell what great good the future may not hold for us?

So to you I say this: As Georgia has taken her place on the side of reason and truth, she is about to issue forth into a greater day. May each of us be possessed by the desire to make this new spirit universal, and may the Supreme Arbiter of the affairs of men direct our course and lead us into paths of purer and brighter visions.



Does Education Make Fools?

By EMMA O. BRYANT



It is generally thought that because a person has a good education he is conceited over it; that he does not care to associate with those who have less than he; that he feels himself far above them. Many people whose advantages have been poor feel that one whose

opportunities have been good, one who has advanced in higher education, knows much, and thinks he knows everything. Many of the uneducated believe that egotism is the essential result of education.

This is altogether an erroneous idea; the truth is that real education makes one humble. It is very often the case with a person who has a little knowledge that he becomes haughty and thinks that he knows all, and perhaps feels himself above others; for "A little learning is a dangerous thing." But that is not true of a person who has acquired a great deal of learning, for he becomes humble; his eyes are open to the fact that he has much yet to learn. It is knowledge, not ignorance, that brings humility.

Knowledge is death to egotism. Egotism is seeing one's self out of all proportion to the rest of the world. In order to destroy egotism one must make himself smaller in his own sight, or else things which surround him must appear larger. When he gets rid of self he is then able to see how little he is.

Knowledge makes one humble for two reasons: First, it shows him how small he is in this vast world. Take, for instance, a person who has studied astronomy; when he has studied the sun, moon and stars he sees clearly



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what a small part of the universe he occupies; he feels as David did when he said:

"When I consider Thy heavens the works of Thy fingers, the moon and the stars which Thou hast ordained; what is man that Thou art mindful of him?"

When one studies history he feels his insignificance. When he reads of how many great men lived in the past, and of the wonderful work which they did toward establishing civilization, he realizes what a small atom he is. When he considers the great work which men of to-day have accomplished he becomes painfully aware of his small contribution in comparison with what is wrought by other men.

In the next place, knowledge makes one humble because it shows him how small his knowledge is compared with the knowledge that is not his. The ignorant person does not have much sense of the great fields of knowledge he has not entered, while the educated person has some notion of their vastness. Educated people are humble because they see that what they know is as nothing compared with what they do not know; their thought is expressed in these words: "The great ocean of truth lies all undiscovered before us."

The wider the circle of our knowledge the broader the horizon of our ignorance. As the fog is slowly lifted we have the houses and all the surroundings brought clearly into view. So it is with our ignorance, as our knowledge is increased the circle of our

ignorance grows larger. As we climb the mountain, the nearer we get to the top, the farther we can see over the plain; so it is with our knowledge, the higher we climb the mountain of learning the farther we see into the valley of ignorance.

The scientist who has made a specialty of studying fishes knows their habits, the different species, and all about them. As he studies his circle of ignorance is continually growing larger, for he realizes that if there is so much to learn about just one kind of fish, there is just as much to know of other animals. It is the same case with the geologist. As he studies one section of the earth's crust and notes its different changes and the structure of the rocks of the different periods, it is made clear to him that his knowledge of the earth has just begun—that he knows almost nothing in comparison with what he should know.

Southey, a diligent worker, and one of the most noted of English writers, when dying asked to be carried to his library, where he fondly handled his books like a child, and sighed as he thought he must bid them farewell.

Sir Isaac Newton, the famous mathematician, carried on the work of earlier astronomers by the application of mathematics, and proved that the force of attraction, which we call gravitation, was a universal one, and that the sun, the moon, the earth and all the heavenly bodies are attracted to one another. Yet, with all of his learning and discovery, he said, at the end of his career,

"I feel like a child playing upon the seashore, picking up a pebble here and there, while the great ocean of truth lies unexplored before me." Thus it is with all great men; they feel as children just starting in life's work.

Humboldt, the great naturalist and traveler, dying at the age of ninety, feeling that he had just begun to study, exclaimed, "Oh, for another hundred years!" Again he said, "I need a thousand years to do that which I now have in my mind."

Alfred Tennyson, who gave comparatively all of his life to poetry and art, expressed the desire to live a hundred years longer for the study of music, then another hundred for art, and similar periods to devote to the different sciences. It was Tennyson who wrote:

"Flower of the crannied wall,
I pluck you out of the crannies,
I hold you here, root and all, in my
hand,
Little flower—but if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all
in all,
I should know what God and man is."

Had Tennyson lived a thousand years longer he would still have been discontented, for his ambitions were so great.

The more education one gets the better prepared he is to sympathize with others. He is more willing to give his time and interest in the service of people that he knows have not had adequate advantages. For many years

devoted and thorough men and women have been studying the conditions of society. They have seen the hard struggle of the poor and ignorant against obstacles that they could not, of themselves, overcome. Men, women and children have been found vicious merely because of their unfavorable surroundings. The efforts of these social workers have been fruitful, and the masses are surely, though painfully, merging from a thralldom worse than death. Now the story of this saving service has been recorded in books and reduced to a science. The educated can search these records, learn the cause of human wretchedness and the relief for it. It can be found that one's environment has a great deal of influence on his character. Being acquainted with the individuals under these conditions, he is able to make allowance for their weaknesses, and to recognize and admire what is excellent in them, to eliminate the evil and develop the good. The more education one gets the more unselfish he becomes, his eyes are open to human suffering, and he is willing to help those who are unable to help themselves.

Education, therefore, instead of making one egotistic and proud, makes him humble, sympathetic and helpful. And a most convincing proof of this is to be found in the great numbers of college men and women who are forsaking careers that might bring fame and wealth and are taking their places among the poor and wretched, giving their lives for the uplift of others.

New State for the Negro

The four oft-discussed solutions of the Negro Problem—Extermination, the present living together and yet apart plan called the "Atlanta Compromise" plan, Amalgamation and Segregation—William Archer, the noted English author, discusses in the following article from *McClure's* for July: Segregation of the Negro in a new State in the Southwest, Mr. Archer argues, is the only logical solution of the situation. We submit this foreign viewpoint, not our own, as worthy of the most thoughtful consideration of every Negro.—EDITOR.

Four Possibilities: I. Extinction.

It is time now that we should look more closely into the conditions of this piebald community which a violent interference with the normal course of race-distribution has established in the Southern States.

The future seems to contain four possibilities, or rather, conceivabilities, which may be examined in turn.

(1) Things may "worry along" in the present profoundly unsatisfactory condition, until the Negro gradually dies out.

(2) The education of both races, and the moral and economic elevation of the black race, may gradually enable them to live side by side in mutual tolerance and forbearance, without mingling, but without clashing.

(3) Marriage between persons of the two races may—I mean might conceivably—be legalized, and the color line obliterated by "miscegenation."

(4) The Negro race might be geographically segregated, by deportation or otherwise, and established in a community or communities of its own.

The first eventuality—the evanescence of the Negro race—we have already examined and seen to be highly

improbable. Let me only add here that there is one way in which it might conceivably be brought about—a way too horrible to be contemplated, yet not wholly beyond the bounds of possibility. The recurrence of such an outbreak as the Atlanta riot of 1906 might lead to very terrible consequences. On that occasion the white mob found the Negroes unarmed, and wreaked its frenzy practically unopposed. But the lesson was not lost on the Negroes, and a similar onslaught would, in many places, find them armed and capable of a certain amount of resistance. In that case one dares not think what might happen. Their resistance could scarcely be effectual, in the sense of intimidating and checking white violence. It would, on the contrary, infuriate the mob, and lend some show of justification to their proceedings; while the frenzy would spread from city to city, and the result might quite well be one of the darkest pages in American or any other history. Once let a dozen white men be killed by armed Negroes in any city of the South, and a flame would burst out all over the land which would work untold devastation before either authority or humanity could check it.

The incident would be taken as a declaration of racial war; everywhere the white mob would insist on searching for arms in the Negro quarters; the Negroes would inevitably attempt some panic-stricken defensive organization; and the more effective it proved the more terrible would be the calamity to their race. Not even in the wildest frenzy, of course, could the race, or a tenth part of the race, be violently wiped out; but they might be so dismayed and terrorized as to lose that natural buoyancy of spirit which has hitherto sustained them, and enabled them to increase and multiply.

Four Possibilities: II. The Atlanta Compromise.

We pass now to the second eventuality—the gradual smoothing away of friction, so that the two races may live side by side, never blending and yet never jarring. This is the conception set forth in Dr. Booker Washington's celebrated "Atlanta Compromise" speech of 1895, wherein he said: "In all things purely social we can be as separate as the five fingers, and yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." Is this a possible—I will not say ideal, for that it manifestly is not—working arrangement?

One thing is evident at the outset—namely, that the fourteen years that have elapsed since Dr. Washington uttered this aspiration have brought its fulfilment no nearer. Both Negro education and white education have advanced in the interim; the "respectable" and well-to-do class of Negroes has considerably increased; but the

feeling between the races is worse rather than better. Mr. Thomas Nelson Page used to say, "Northerners espouse the cause of the Negro as a race, but dislike Negroes individually; while Southerners do not dislike Negroes individually, but oppose them as a race." Ten years ago there was a large element of truth in this saying; but it becomes less and less true with every year that passes. The old-time kindness of feeling between the ex-owner and the ex-slave is rapidly becoming a mere tradition. No common memories or sentiments hold together the new generations of the two races; they are growing up in unmitigated mutual antipathy. At best, indeed, the Southern kindness of feeling toward the individual Negro subsisted only so long as he "knew his place" and kept it; and the very process of education and elevation on which Dr. Washington relies renders the Negro ever less willing to keep the place the Southern white man assigns him. In the North, too, while the dislike of the individual Negro has greatly increased, the theoretic fondness for the race has very perceptibly cooled. Altogether, the tendency of events since 1895 has not been at all in the direction of the Atlanta Compromise. The Atlanta riot of eleven years later was a grimly ironic comment on Dr. Washington's speech.

This merely means, it may be said, that education has as yet produced no sensible effect upon the inveterate and inhuman prejudice of the South. Nevertheless, time and patience may justi-

fy Dr. Washington's optimism. There is no saying, indeed, what a great deal of time and a great deal of patience may not effect. Meanwhile, let us see what is really involved in the idea of the Atlanta Compromise.

We are to conceive, in the first place, an immense advance in the Negro race—an advance in education, industry, thrift, and general efficiency. Well, this is possible enough—the Negro is certainly civilizable, if not indefinitely, at any rate far beyond the average level he has yet attained. Negro crime might easily be reduced within normal limits; for the race is not inherently criminal, but is rendered so by ignorance, poverty, vice, injustice, and a thoroughly bad penal system. The next fifty years, if present influences continue to work unimpeded, may see a very large increase in the class of law-abiding, property-holding Negroes, and possibly a considerable improvement even in the condition of the black proletariat. But supposing that, by the exercise of infinite patience for fifty or a hundred years, a condition something like that indicated in the Atlanta formula were ultimately attained, would it be desirable? and could it be permanent?

The assumed improvement of conditions would, of course, imply a steady increase in the numbers of the black race; so that, even with the aid of immigration, the white race would probably not greatly add to its numerical superiority. Let us suppose that at the end of fifty years the colored people were not as one in three, but as one in four, and that this ratio remained pret-

ty constant. Here, then, we should have a nation within a nation, unassimilated and (by hypothesis) unassimilable, occupying one-fourth of the whole field of existence, and performing no function that could not, in their absence, be at least as well performed by assimilable people, whose presence would be a strength to the community. The black nation would be a hampering, extraneous element in the body politic, like a bullet encysted in the human frame. It may lie there for years without setting up inflammation or gangrene, and causing no more than occasional twinges of pain; but it certainly cannot contribute to the health, efficiency, or comfort of the organism. Is it wonderful that the Atlanta Compromise, supposing it realized in all conceivable perfection, should excite little enthusiasm in the white South?

But to imagine it realized in perfection is to imagine an impossibility—almost a contradiction in terms. We are on the one hand to suppose the Negro ambitious, progressive, prosperous, and on the other hand to imagine him humbly acquiescent in his status as a social pariah. The thing is out of the question; such saintlike humility has long ceased to form any part of the moral equipment of the American Negro. The bullet could never be thoroughly encysted; it would always irritate, rankle, fester. Dr. Washington's formula, in renouncing social equality, is judiciously vague as to political rights. But one thing is certain—neither Dr. Washington nor any other Negro leader really contemplates their surrender. It is

quite inconceivable that the nation within a nation should acquiesce in disfranchisement; and the question of the Negro vote will always be a disturbing factor in Southern political life. Either he must be jockeyed out of it by devices abhorrent to democratic principle and more or less subversive of political morality or, if he be honestly suffered to cast his ballot, he will block the healthy divergence of political opinion in the South, since, in any party conflict, he would hold the balance between the two sides, and thus become the dominant power in the State. This will always be a danger so long as the unassimilated Negro is forced, by his separateness, to think and act first as a Negro and only in the second place as an American. Even if the Atlanta Compromise were otherwise realizable, the friction at this point would always continue acute.

The Crux of the Problem.

The worst, however, remains behind. If the Atlanta Compromise were possible in every other way, it would be impossible on the side of sex. For two races to dwell side by side in large numbers, and to be prohibited from coming together in legal marriage, is unwholesome and demoralizing to both. I am not thinking mainly of what Mr. Ray Stannard Baker calls "the tragedy of the mulatto." It seems hard, no doubt, that marriage should be impossible between a white man and a girl in whose complexion, perhaps, an eighth or sixteenth part of Negro blood is entirely imperceptible; but such cases are romantic exceptions,

and do not constitute a serious factor in the problem. Negroes, at any rate, will tell you proudly that the young men and women of their race, however light-skinned, hold it no hardship that their choice of mates should be restricted to their own people. Whatever be the truth as to these marginal relations, they are not the essence of the matter. The essence is simply this: the youth and manhood of the white South is subjected to an altogether unfair and unhealthy ordeal by the constant presence of a multitude of physically well-developed women, among whom, in the lower levels, there is no strong tradition of chastity, and to whom the penalties of incontinence are very slight. To say, as many Southerners will, that there is no such thing as virtue among Negro women is stupidly libelous; but it is impossible to doubt that the average standard of sexual conduct among the lower orders of the black and brown population is anything but high. And this is not a state of things that can be radically amended in one generation or in two. The completest realization of the Atlanta Compromise that is conceivable within, say, a century, would still leave the white male exposed from boyhood upward to a stimulation of his animal instincts, which, in the peculiar circumstances of the case, cannot be otherwise than unwholesome.

We are here at the very heart of the problem. All other relations are adjustable at a certain sacrifice, but not this one. If the two races are to live together without open and lawful inter-

mingling, it must be at the cost of incessant demoralization to both. "Miscegenation," in the sense of permanent concubinage and the rearing of hybrid families, may be held in check by the strong social sentiment against it; but nothing can hold in check the still more degrading casual commerce between the white man (and youth) and the colored woman. It is probably this fact, quite as much as the hideous proclivities of the criminal Negro male, that hardens the heart of the white woman against the black race. Nor is the unwholesomeness of the condition measured by the actual amount of laxity to which it leads. Temptation may in myriads of cases be resisted; but this order of temptation ought not to be in the air.*

I venture to say that no one—not even Dr. Washington himself—really believes in the Atlanta Compromise as a stable solution of the problem. The Negroes who accept it as an interim ideal (so to speak) never doubt that it is but a stepping-stone to freedom of racial intermixture. They see that so long as constant physical propinquity endures, the color barrier between the sexes is factitious and in great measure unreal; and they believe that at last the race-pride of the white man will be worn down, and he will accept the inevitable amalgamation. The ultimate forces at war in the South are the instinctive, half-conscious desire of the black race to engraft itself on the white stock, and the no less instinctive horror of the white stock at such a surrender of its racial integrity. This horror is all

the more acute—all the more morbid, if you will—because the white race is conscious of its own frailty, and knows that it is, in some sense, fighting a battle against perfidious nature. It is a hard thing to say, but I have little doubt it is true, that much of the injustice and cruelty to which the Negro is subjected in the South is a revenge, not so much for sexual crime on the Negro's part, as for an uneasy conscience or consciousness on the part of the whites. It is because the black race inevitably appeals to one order of lower instincts in the white, that it suffers from the sympathetic stimulation of another order of lower instincts.

Four Possibilities: III. Amalgamation.

This brings us, of course, to the third of the conceivabilities above enumerated—the legalization of marriage between the two races. To the white South, nothing is more inconceivable: to the critics of the white South, nothing is more simple. Which of them is in the right?

It is significant that none of these outside critics puts the slightest faith in the Atlanta Compromise. They see quite clearly that the two races cannot live together and yet apart. Their solution is the obvious one of free intermixture, and they cannot understand why the South should be so inveterately opposed to it. Why make such a fuss, they say, over such a simple matter?

And then comes a long array of arguments to minimize, in general, the significance of race, and, in particular, the gap between the white race and the black. Racial purity is a vain

imagination; there is no such thing, at any rate, among European peoples; and if it existed it would only be a limitation and a misfortune to the people afflicted with it. Most of all is the Anglo-Saxon race ridiculed as a historic fallacy. The South, which boasts itself almost the last stronghold of pure Anglo-Saxondom, is told that the pure Anglo-Saxon is a myth and a superstition. As to the Negro, we are assured that we were all Negroes once, or something very much to that effect. At any rate, it is asserted that the Mediterranean races, with whom Western civilization originated, were in great part of Negro origin. Skull-measurement and brain-weight are called in to prove—whatever the particular disputant wants to prove. Special qualities are claimed for the Negro—such as a rich imagination, an innate courtesy, and a strong musical faculty; and it is argued that these are the very things of which the (so-called) Anglo-Saxon race stands most in need. Great play is made with the quasi-scientific modern Rousseauism which avers that our barbarian ancestors were better men than we, and thence argues that there is little or no real gap between the savage of to-day and the civilized man. Weismannism is pressed into the service to show that, as the aptitudes and tendencies that we sum up in the word civilization are acquired and, therefore (it is argued), untransmissible, the white child can have profited nothing by its ancestors' centuries of upward struggle from barbarism, while the black child cannot be in any way han-

dicapped by his descent through untold ages of savagery. We are even assured that civilization has sprung from and must be maintained by "the commingling of all with all, the general 'pan-mixture,' the universal 'half-breed.' " *

Fortunately it is quite unnecessary that I should plunge into the mazes of ethnological controversy. It is sufficient for my present purpose to note that controversy, and very lively controversy, exists. The practical equality of the two races is so far from being a point on which all authorities are agreed, that it may rather be called a paradox which charms a certain order of mind by reason of its very audacity. So, too, with the opinion that, whether the African race be or be not inferior, it possesses qualities that the European stock needs, and ought to accept with gratitude. Whether true or false, this is, at present at any rate, a quite undemonstrated speculation. Even Sir Sydney Olivier, who maintains in general that a man of mixed race is "potentially a more competent vehicle of humanity," advances no proof of the benefits of the particular mixture in question which can for a moment be expected to carry conviction to the Southern white man. The South, then, is urged by the amalgamation theorists to embark upon, or submit to, what is

* Dr. Booker Washington said to Mr. Wells: "May we not become a peculiar people—like the Jews? Isn't that possible?" What so long kept the Jews a peculiar people was the constancy with which Jewish women declined to intermingle with the Gentiles around them. If Negro women showed such a spirit of racial chastity, the problem would be very different.

at best a great experiment. It is to quell its higher instincts (for so it regards them, rightly or wrongly) and commit what it feels in the marrow of its bones to be a degrading race-abnegation, in deference to a half-scientific, half-humanitarian opinion, held by certain theorists outside its own boundaries, to the effect that, after all, there is no great difference between black and white, and that the complexion of the future will certainly be a uniform yellow. Can any one blame the South for answering: "No, thank you! If you in England or in New England are tired of being white men, and sigh for the blessings of an African blend, we can send you several million Negroes, of both sexes, who will no doubt be happy, on suitable terms, to intermarry with your sons and daughters. For our part, we are content with our complexion as it is. We see no reason to believe that the African slave-trade was the means adopted by a beneficent Providence for the ultimate improvement of our Anglo-Saxon Stock; nor, on the other hand, can we accept it as a just punishment for the sins of our fathers that our race, as a race, should be merged and obliterated in indiscriminate hybridism."

I do not pretend, of course, that the fixed antipathy of the South to the very idea of amalgamation is a purely rational one. Who is so foolish as to look for pure reason in aught that concerns the obscure fundamentals of life? What I am trying to show is that, whatever irrational elements may min-

gle with it, the Southern sentiment has a solid and sufficient nucleus of reason. The advantages of fusion, as between such antipodal races as the white European and the black African, are, to say the least of it, unproved; and a race may be forgiven, surely, which declines to try on its own body, so to speak, so problematic and so irremediable an experiment. For, once made, this experiment cannot be unmade. The South must choose between definitely renouncing its position as a "white man's land" or struggling to maintain it. What wonder if it feels that it has no choice in the matter?

Four Possibilities: IV. Segregation.

Lastly, we have to consider the fourth conceivable eventuality—the geographical segregation of the Negro race, whether within or without the limits of the United States.

This is usually ridiculed as an absolutely Utopian scheme, and at the outset of my investigation I myself regarded it in that light. But the more I saw and read and thought, the oftener and the more urgently did segregation recur to me as the one possible way of escape from an otherwise intolerable situation. Not, of course, the instant, and wholesale, and violent deportation of ten million people—that is a rank impossibility. Between that and inert acquiescence in the ubiquity of the Negro throughout the Southern States, there are many middle courses; and I cannot but believe that the first really great statesman who arises in America will prove his greatness by grappling with this vast but not insoluble prob-

lem. And, assuredly, the sooner he comes the better.

We have seen the Negro race is not dying out, or that, if it does die out, it can only be, so to speak, at the cost of Southern civilization—through the indefinite continuance of insanitary and barbarous conditions. We have seen that the Atlanta Compromise is illusory and impracticable; that there is no reasonable hope that the two races will ever live together, yet apart—in economic solidarity yet without social or sexual contact. We have seen that the essence of the whole situation lies in the Negro's inevitable ambition (even though it be unformulated and largely unconscious) to be drawn upward, through physical coalescence, into the white race, and the white man's intense resolve that, on a large and determining scale, no such coalescence shall take place. Now this state of war—for such it undoubtedly is—will not correct itself by lapse of time. It will continue to degrade and demoralize both races until active measures are taken to put an end to it. Though I sympathize with the white man's horror of amalgamation, I neither approve nor extenuate the systematic injustice and frequent barbarity in which that horror expresses itself. The present state of society in the South is as inhuman as it is inconsistent with the democratic and Christian principles which the Southern white man so loudly, and in the main sincerely, professes. The Jim Crow car, and all such discriminations in the system of public conveyance are, I believe, necessities, but de-

plorable necessities none the less. The constant struggle to exclude the Negro from political power is at best a negative and unproductive expenditure of energy, at worst a source of political dishonesty and corruption. The wresting of the law, whether criminal or civil, into an instrument for keeping the Negro in a state of abject serfdom, is a scandal and a disgrace to any civilized community. The constant resort to lawless violence and cruelty in revenge for Negro crime (real or imaginary) is a hideous blot upon the fair fame of the South, if not rather an impeachment of her sanity. The truth is, in fact, that constant inter-racial irritation leaves neither race entirely sane, and that abominable crime and no less abominable punishment are merely the acutest symptom of an ill-omened conjuncture of things, which puts an unfair and unnatural strain upon both black and white human nature. The criminal stupidity that brought the Negro to America cannot be annulled by passively "making the best of it." If its evil effects are to be counteracted, corrected, and wiped out, it must be through an active and constructive effort of large-minded statesmanship.

Back to Africa?

The deportation of the Negro has been urged by many American writers, generally in a somewhat illogical fashion. They start by asserting his total incapacity for self-government, as demonstrated in Haiti, Liberia, and elsewhere, and then recommend the foundation of a new Negro republic in

some undefined portion of Africa. A curious scheme was put forward in 1889 in an anonymous book entitled "An Appeal to Pharaoh," written, I believe, by Mr. Carlyle McKinley, of Charleston, South Carolina. Mr. McKinley's proposal was to promote "the voluntary and steady emigration of the active maternal element" of the Negro race. He calculated that if 12,500 child-bearing females, between the ages of twenty and thirty, could every year be induced to emigrate (taking their husbands with them), the whole "maternal element" of the colored population would be removed within fifty years. The plan was apparently that as soon as a child was born to a young Negro couple, they were to be persuaded to emigrate, and that thus the prolific Negro would gradually be transferred to the new Negro commonwealth, only the sterile remnant of the race being left to die off at their leisure. It is unnecessary to criticize this scheme, which is now twenty years old, and does not seem to have found any serious champions. I mention it as perhaps the most carefully considered of the suggestions for an exodus to Africa.

In no form does the African project seem to me at all a hopeful one. The habitable portions of Africa are, I take it, pretty well staked out among the European powers, so that an elaborate and costly international arrangement would be necessary before the requisite territory would be available. But supposing this difficulty overcome, would the United States be justified in

simply dumping its colored population in Africa, and then washing its hands of them? It might just as well drive them into the sea and have done with them into the sea and have done with it. The Negro character has shown no combined pioneering and nation-building that it would have to encounter. To the lower elements in the race the return to Africa might mean repatriation in the sense of a not unwelcome home-coming to savagery; but the better elements would suffer greatly in such a relapse, while of their own strength they probably could not resist it. Toward these better elements, and indeed toward the whole race, the United States has a responsibility that it could not, and certainly would not, shirk, so that it would in effect have to undertake the policing of a distant, troublesome, and unsatisfactory dependency, which might, in addition, not improbably involve it in international difficulties. This would be preferable to the present state of things, but still far from a desirable solution of the problem.

The same objections apply to a settlement in South America, the Philippines, or anywhere else outside the United States. Deportation, in a word, is beset with disadvantages. It would be ruinously costly and indefensibly cruel. If there ever was a time for it, that time is past.

A Negro State?

What, then, is the alternative? Manifestly concentration within the United States—the formation of a new State, which should be, not a white man's

land, but a black man's land.

Is this physically possible? Is there enough unoccupied territory to permit of such a concentration? Of absolutely unoccupied territory there probably is not enough; but those who have studied the matter tell us that there is plenty of territory so thinly occupied that the white settlers could be removed and compensated at no extravagant cost. According to the Honorable John Temple Graves:

"Lower California might be secured. The lands west of Texas might be had. But the Government does not need to purchase. Four hundred million acres of Government land is yet untaken and undeveloped in the West. Of these vast acres the expert hydrographer of the Interior Department has reported that it is easily possible to redeem by irrigation enough to support in plenty a population of sixty million people."

We may liberally discount this estimate, and yet leave it unquestionable that the resources of the United States are amply sufficient to admit of the establishment of a new State without any exorbitant disturbance of the existing distribution of territory.

It would be absurd for me to forecast in any detail the method by which the concentration should be brought about. They must be devised and elaborated by the great American statesman who is to come. If he can successfully grapple with this colossal task, he will deserve to rank with Washington and Lincoln in the affections of his countrymen. It may be pretty safely predicted that he will attempt no sudden

and forcible displacement of the mass of the Negro race. Rather he will establish local conditions that shall tempt the younger and more enterprising Negroes to migrate of their own free will; while he will probably fix by legislation a pretty distant date—say five-and-twenty years ahead—after which it shall be competent for the various State governments forcibly to evict (with compensation) and transplant to the new State any Negroes under, say, forty-five years of age still lingering within their boundaries. There will be no need at any time to disturb old or middle-aged Negroes who are disinclined to start life afresh under new conditions.

The probability is, however, that if once the new State was judiciously set on foot, the difficulty would be so to moderate the westward rush as to prevent an unnecessary dislocation of the labor market in the South. There is not the least doubt that Negro labor could and would be gradually replaced by white labor; but a sudden Negro exodus on a large scale would certainly embarrass agriculture and other industries in most of the Southern States. It would be one of the main problems of the case so to regulate the flow of migration as to make it continuous, yet not excessive.

There seems to be little doubt that the Negro race, as a whole, would welcome any reasonable means of escape from the galling conditions of their life in the South. On the other hand, there is no doubt whatever that all the more intelligent members of the race

are staunchly and even pathetically loyal to American ideals, and would be very unwilling to live under any other than the American form of government. In the new State they would be members of a Negro community without ceasing to be American citizens. It might be necessary at first to establish some provisional government like that of an American territory or English crown colony; but as soon as the country was sufficiently settled, and the mechanism of life in full swing, there could be no difficulty or danger in admitting the new community into the Union, with full State rights. Negro education has enormously progressed since the old days of Reconstruction; and there is no reason to doubt that the population could furnish a competent legislature, executive and judiciary. Legislative aberrations would be checked by the Supreme Court of the United States; and if things went thoroughly wrong, and a new Haiti threatened to develop in the heart of the Republic, why, United States troops would always be at hand to hold a black mob or a black adventurer in awe. But it would doubtless be a fundamental principle that no white man could vote or hold office in the Negro State, while, reciprocally, no colored man could vote or hold office in the white States. The abrogation of the Fifteenth Amendment would remove from the Constitution of the United States a constant source of trouble.

I am far from denying that this

racial readjustment would demand a huge effort and a very large expense. In many individual cases it might cause a good deal of hardship to people of both colors. But that both colors would enormously and permanently benefit by the effort seems to me indubitable. It would be, before everything, an act of justice to the Negro. It would enable him to build up a polity of his own, on lines to which his mind is already habituated. It would offer him full opportunity for the development of his talents and ambitions, unhampered by any social discriminations or disabilities. The Hampton-Tuskegee movement has been fitting great numbers of the race to carry out the necessary tasks of construction and organization involved in the material and moral unbuilding of the new community. Every aid should, of course, be afforded for the transference to the new domain of all Negro universities, colleges, and similar institutions. I see little reason to doubt that the sense of new and unhampered opportunity would stimulate the mental and moral energies of the race, and beget a higher competence, a new self-respect. They would feel that they were on trial before the eyes of the world, that their future was in their own hands, and that they must vindicate their claim to the rights and liberties of civilized humanity. They would have a very fair chance of success; and in case of failure they would at worst relapse upon some sort of crown colony government. A regularly established and benevolent despotism would, at

any rate, be better than the capricious and malevolent despotism to which they are now subjected in the South.

"But," it may be said, "the rights and liberties of civilized humanity include the right to move freely hither and thither over the face of the earth. This right, at any rate, would be denied to the Afro-American, inclosed within the ring-fence of his own State." There is, I think, a sufficient answer to this objection. The right of travel would not be denied to the Negro. Nor would he be debarred from emigrating and settling abroad among any community that was willing to receive him. It is, I think, becoming more and more clear that the right of every man, white, black, or yellow, to effect a permanent settlement outside his own country, is subject to this qualification. The idea that all the world ought to belong equally to all men, and that rational development tends toward an unrestricted intermingling of races, seems to be signally contradicted by the trend of events. Is it not the great essential for the ultimate world-peace that races should learn to keep themselves to themselves?

If the Negro State is established with any success, I do not believe that its inhabitants will feel it an undue restriction on their liberties that they are forbidden to settle in other parts of the Union. The population question will gradually regulate itself. A fairly civ-

ilized people, with limited opportunities of expansion, will soon realize the penalties of breeding beyond its means of subsistence.

And what of the South, when this act of justice to the Negro shall have been performed? It will awaken, as from a nightmare, to the realization of its splendid destiny. No longer will one of the richest and most beautiful regions of the world be hampered in its material and spiritual development by a legacy of ancestral crime. All that is best in the South—and the Southern nature is rich in elements of magnanimity and humanity—abhors the inhuman necessities imposed upon it by the presence of the Negro. The Southern white man writhes under the criticisms of the North and of Europe, which he feels to be ignorant and in great measure unjust, yet which he can only answer by an impotent, "You do not know! You cannot understand!" He has to confess, too, that there is much in Southern policy and practice that even the necessities of the situation cannot excuse—much that can only be palliated as the result of a constant overstrain to which human nature ought never to be subjected. Remove the causes of this overstrain, and a region perhaps the most favored by nature of all in the Western Hemisphere will stand where it ought to stand—in the van, not only of civilization, but of humanity.



Slavery in Massachusetts

By CLEMENT RICHARDSON

This, "The Process of Abolition," is the second of the series of three articles in which Mr. Clement Richardson clearly and interestingly discusses the accursed institution in the land of the Puritans. "Slavery in Vogue" appeared in the two preceding issues. The concluding article, "The Heart of the Puritan," will appear in the COLORED AMERICAN for August. EDITOR.

The Process of Abolition.

FOR all this, I am not for going so far as to say the institution was ever "established" here. If, while we are erecting a building of any kind, some giant comes along early and strikes our edifice, either knocking off a piece or jarring it, even though we erected it never so high, we could hardly say our building is "established." And if, further, one giant not only strikes it, but we see, day after day, the giants around recruiting, threatening to come down upon us to demolish all we have done and are doing, still less shall we conclude either before the thing was ruined or afterward, "that the edifice was established." We can say it was there, but it was not established there.

The giants against the institution were the early individuals who stood out either boldly or timidly. Their recruits were the Negroes, both individually and collectively. The spirit of freedom and justice that rose with the Revolution, and the courts of law, would not down. And so it seems we have put Slavery in vogue merely to drive it out again. But, as was said in

the preface, this is a study in sociology where the mind and attitude change; and, further, is it not the highest compliment to a people to be able to swerve about and finally to land in the track of consistency?

In the first part of this essay a letter was quoted from Roger Williams, requesting the gift of a slave to bring up. This letter was dated July, 1637. By September 18 of the same year he began to have some pangs of conscience. He writes: "Sir, concerning captives (pardon my wonted boldness), the Scripture is full of mysteries and the Old Testament of types;" and, continuing, he writes: "I doubt not but the enemies may be weakened and despoiled of all comfort of wife and children, but I beseech you will weigh it after due time of bringing up to labor and restraint they ought not to be set free." For nearly three-score years after this, however, the voice of anti-slavery was silent. Here and there some quiet act of freeing slaves in obedience to conscience occurred. By far the strongest solitary voice against Slavery in early times was that of Samuel Sewall. Samuel Sewall, a Harvard graduate, was one of the ablest men in the province. He had

been ruminating upon the injustice of slavery for a long time. He tells us when coming upon a religious book he was made to feel guilty that he had not obeyed the voice of conscience, and so down he sat and wrote: "The Selling of Joseph, A Memorial." The tract was published in 1700, and was distributed by the author among the clergy and men of letters. But both the paper and its author were regarded with amazement, pity and contempt. He speaks of the "frowns and hard words" he met with for this undertaking. The pamphlet was answered by a Mr. Ashton and by several others, who undertook to justify Slavery on the ground that it was just to hold men in bondage, as did the Israelites, and that, therefore, no parallel existed between the Negro and Joseph, for Joseph was a Hebrew, and, of course, had no business to be sold by his brethren. Sewall, it would appear, found himself sadly with a minority, though he by no means desisted. We see him endeavoring to persuade people not to rate the Negro as chattel, but could not succeed. And we find him interfering personally in contracts between master and slave, and, from the facts in hand, giving the decision the wrong way, but the time was not ripe, and Slavery still remained in vogue.

Fully three-score years again passed before any very telling blow was struck against Slavery. By this time, however, the son of Massachusetts began to think about his own rights and his situation before his Maker, and one by one slaves were set free. In 1745

Hannah Perkins, of Lynn, agreed to marry Joshua Cheever only upon condition that the latter would free his slave when said slave was 25 years of age. It was done. On Jan. 22, 1764, Samuel Taylor's wife set free their Negro Pompey. Rev. Mrs. Marian Newton owned a slave girl. One day her husband came in, and found his wife using the girl roughly; he bought the girl immediately and set her at liberty. At his death in 1729 James Barton, of Newton, set free his slaves—Dinah, Tom, James and Tidy. I shall now give one instance of manumission accompanied by a declaration of the master's feeling on the subject of slave holding.

In Drake's "Memorial History of Boston" (II. 155) we have this deed of African Joe's freedom, made out by J. Jackson: "Know all men, that I, J. Jackson, of Newburyport, in the County of Essex, gentlemen, in consideration of the impropriety I feel in holding a person in bondage, now especially when my country is contending for that liberty which every man ought to enjoy—I do hereby liberate, manumit and set free my Negro man, Pompey," etc. In Leicester, about 1775, Captain Ayon, for much the same reasons as those of J. Jackson, set free his Negroes—Cæsar, Quashi, Prince—before 1778. Edward Bond and Col. Washburn of the same town freed their slaves Cain Bond and Titus Washington. Rev. William Pratt, first minister of Easton, "had slaves and young Negroes. His wife gave them their freedom and homestead." So it

was in most of the outlying towns; individuals began everywhere to see the iniquity, the absurdity, of holding another human being in bondage.

In the meantime, the Revolution being near at hand, the anti-slavery spirit grew by leaps and bounds. James Swan in 1773 addressed a "Dissuasion to Great Britain and the Colonies from the slave trade to Africa." The next year we find Mrs. John Adams delivering an opinion in a letter to her husband; she says, speaking of the British soldiers inciting the slaves to arms: "I wish most sincerely there was not a slave in this province. It always appeared a most iniquitous scheme to me to fight ourselves for what we are daily robbing and plundering from those who have as good a right to freedom as we have." And it seems that she and her husband had talked this matter over thoroughly, for she concludes the letter by saying: "You know my mind upon this subject." There was another Adams who had no very cordial feeling toward Slavery. In 1776 Mrs. Samuel Adams at her birthday was presented with a slave girl by the name of Surrey. But Samuel Adams, her husband, objected; he said: "If Surrey crosses my threshold she shall be free," and Surrey received her freedom. Rev. Belknap, like Samuel Sewall, was ever ready with his protest against the "odious institution," complaining that people gave away the young slaves like puppies. Nathaniel Appleton, merchant of Boston, wrote "considerations in a letter to a friend on Slavery." In 1776 William Gordon

began a series of attacks against the institution which resulted in his disaster, but by no means in his silence. On Sept. 22 in that year he wrote a letter from Roxbury, in which he said: "The Virginians begin their Declaration of Rights by saying: All men are born equally free and independent; and Congress declares that they hold these truths to be self-evident," etc.

"If these, gentlemen, are our genuine sentiments, and we are not provoking the Deity by acting hypocritically to serve a turn, let us apply earnestly and heartily to the extermination of Slavery from among us." This letter appeared in September. The same author sent a letter Nov. 2 setting forth a plan of gradual emancipation. It was rejected. On the 28th of the same month he signs himself as a "Son of Liberty" in the "Boston Chronicle," asking that "no laws be in existence contrary to sound reason and revelation." The papers continuing to advertise the sale of slaves, on May 15, 1777, he once more addressed the "Printers, hoping that they were Sons of Liberty from principle, and not merely from interest." He asked them "never more to admit the sale of Negroes, whether boys or girls, to be advertised in their papers." These efforts of Dr. Gordon aroused the muses, and in the year reams of verse appeared ridiculing the idea of Negro equality.

But even the muses, whether they were from Parnassus or Lynn Swamp, could not shake the will of Gordon, for in 1778, on Jan. 3, he made answer relative to allowing free Negroes to vote.

"Would it not be ridiculous, inconsistent and unjust to exclude freemen from voting for representatives and senators, though otherwise qualified, because their skins are black, tawny, or reddish? Why not disqualify for being long-nosed, short-faced, or higher or lower than five feet nine?" The ardor of the doctor had already caused the legislature, of which he was chaplain, to view him askance. His letter published in the *Continental Journal*, April 9, 1778, made the cup run over, and he lost his place. This was, in part, the letter. It attacked the fifth article in the proposed Constitution of the State, now pending. He said: "The complexion of the fifth article is blacker than that of any African; and if not altered will be an everlasting reproach upon the present inhabitants." The House immediately dismissed him, saying he had "rashly reflected upon the General Court, and misrepresented their conduct." Such was the work of this one man, sanctioned by John and Samuel Adams, Belknap, Dr. Eliot and many other able individuals.

If the individuals grew clamorous, the towns became more so. In the notices that appeared from bodies of people one can judge of the attitude toward Slavery by the bitterly characterizing adjective. Each one can decide whether or not the feeling which gives rise to these expressions rest upon economic grounds or not. As early as 1765 the town of Worcester instructed its representative "to use his influence to obtain a law to put an end to that unchristian and unpolitic practice of

making slaves of the human species, and that he give his vote to none, to serve his Majesty's Council who will use their influence against such a law." The next year, according to Lyman's Report, the town of Boston instructed its representatives "that you move for the total abolishing of Slavery from among us; that you move for a law to prohibit the importation and the purchasing of slaves for the future." The next year, March 16, 1767, a town meeting was called to know if the people would adhere to their instructions. They voted that they would. Some of the smaller towns voted to have "no more slaves among them, and that the masters of the slaves be indemnified from any expense that might arise from reasons of the slaves' age and infirmities." March 13 a movement was afoot "to procure the passage of a bill to prevent the unwarrantable and unusual custom of enslaving mankind." This special bill was lost in the House for the want of "concurrence," having gone through the Council.

The instance of two more towns fighting Slavery must suffice. The town of Leicester in 1773 declared that "we behold with the greatest of abhorrence any of our fellow creatures in a state of Slavery," and it entreated that a heavy fine be placed upon "every imported Negro," or that every Negro "so imported . . . be a free man or woman as soon as they come within the jurisdiction of the province." And later on in the same year the town showed its seriousness by asking for a

law that every "Negro child that shall be born in said province after enacting such a law shall be free at the same age that the children of white people are free." Finally Salem, in 1773, in-

structed its representatives "to use their exertion to prevent the importation of Negroes into Massachusetts as repugnant to the natural rights of mankind."

Is The Southern Position Anglo-Saxon ?

Professor Bassett attracted country-wide attention a few years ago by declaring in a lecture to his students at the University of North Carolina that Booker T. Washington was the greatest man, save Gen. Robert E. Lee, born in the South in a hundred years. Because of his frank and unorthodox statement, he was asked to resign, but was re-elected to his chair by the university trustees, despite the rabble's clamor. Soon after, however, sensitive to his uncomfortable environment, and at the call of Smith College, for women, he went to Northampton, in Massachusetts. A splendid type of the progressive and enlightened class of Southerners, this sane address delivered by Professor Bassett decrying the anti-Anglo-Saxon attitude of the South was a welcome contribution, coming as it did in the midst of the declamations of the raucous radicals at the recent New York Conference on the Status of the Negro.—EDITOR.

Abstract of address delivered by Professor John Spencer Bassett of Smith College, recently of the University of North Carolina, before the Conference on the Status of the Negro.—Cooper Union, Monday evening.



HERE is such a thing as the Anglo-Saxon attitude toward inferiors. By observing the feelings on the subject in the places in which the English stock has ruled inferiors we may have the general features of this Anglo-Saxon attitude. And when this has been found it will be seen that the Southerner goes further in repression than the Englishman, and that this surplusage is the part of the Southern race antipathy, which appears most artificial. It is an outgrowth of peculiar historical conditions, and we may hope to lessen its intensity. . . .

Cape Colony is that British possession in which conditions with reference to the Negro are most like those in our Southern States.

In each locality the Negro strikes the white man in much the same way. It is the recoil of the superior from the inferior. But in Africa the aversion is not solidified as in the South. In one place the individual white man determines his attitude toward the black man; in the other the community determines it; and woe to him who disputes the decision. In one place, in spite of a large number who are antagonistic to Negro development, there are many who seek to bring it about, and they are allowed to do what they choose. In the other there is a public opinion about the Negro, and its dictum is final. In one a Negro of great capacity may rise out of the sphere of inferiority without a great shock to the whites around him; in the other he may rise till he is esteemed great in all the rest of the world, but he will ever have

"the place" of the most inferior member of his race in the eyes of his white neighbors.

Mr. Bryce gives us some good illustrations of the feeling in Cape Colony. For example, a gentleman there may invite an educated Negro to dinner, but before doing so he will ask his white guests if they object to such company. Nor does it happen that he loses position in society because he has been host to a native. He is eligible thereafter as a guest himself at the home of those who would not accept his invitation under the conditions specified. The same is true as to intermarriage; it occurs rarely, and there is no law against it. Sometimes a poor white man will work for a Negro who has employment for him. Generally the children of the two races attend separate schools; but it happens at times that poor white people send their children to schools for blacks because the fees are smaller, and no one objects. White people are concerned in philanthropic work for blacks, acting individually and as churches, and by so doing they do *not* lose their efficiency in other work for and with white people. Social relations with Negroes are not desired by the majority of the whites, but those who oppose such relations do not think the safety of society demands that the advocates of other views be held as enemies of the public good. On this subject people seem to think that the best safety of the public lies in allowing a man to believe as he chooses without making him pay any penalty.

Now, I do not say that this is a desirable thing. It may or may not be so; but my present contention is that this is en-

tirely unlike the position of our South. And since the conditions are relatively the same in Jamaica and in other British colonies in which whites rule blacks, I think it fair to say that it stands for the Anglo-Saxon attitude toward the Negro. That is to say, the British are unwilling to accept the inferior as an equal, but they are willing to try to make him equal, and their sense of fair play tolerates and even applauds the successful efforts to raise him above himself. It is a doctrine which sprang from the English instinct of liberty, and it was brought to America by the British founders.

—Thus it happened that the Methodist and Missionary Baptist churches became the strongest popular religious organizations in the South, and they so remained throughout the eighteenth century.

Although others labored as they could, these two popular churches were particularly active in work for the Negro. In true Anglo-Saxon spirit, they took him into the churches, and in exceptional cases they allowed him to preach, but they did not give him the right to hold office. They believed, and he acquiesced in it, that he was not capable of directing the affairs of the church. This mingling of blacks and whites in a field of common concern was the best guarantee of mutual peace and sympathy, and since religion was the sphere of mental activity at which the white man's ideals was most likely to enter the Negro's life, this association in the churches promised much for the future. When the nineteenth century began, and for three decades thereafter, the whites had the Anglo-Saxon attitude toward the Negro. They sought to develop

him; they recognized his inferiority in the mass, while they encouraged all efforts in the individual which seemed to work for his uplift. Some illustrations of this state of affairs will show how harmonious the situation was at this time.

The position of the Southern churches at this time has its parallel in that of some of the leading public men. Washington and many other prominent Virginians are well known for their mild views of the Negro. In 1791 Jefferson secretary of state, appointed a Negro mathematician to office in his department because he wanted to see if a Negro would succeed in that capacity. His letter to a gentleman in France telling of the matter shows that *he did not disapprove of Negro office-holders*.

And it was under Andrew Jackson, the second founder of the Democratic party, that Negroes, so far as I can learn, were first received at a social function in the White House.

Now, these incidents do not prove everything, but they show that public opinion in 1791 and in 1829 was not like public opinion in the South at present. All that I claim is that in the first three decades of the nineteenth century the Southern whites had the typical English attitude toward the Negro. They recognized his inferiority; they sought to secure his development, and that painfully solid opinion which demands that white hands shall never touch black ones had not come into existence. If the problem of the inferior could have been worked out under this gentler system this conference, probably, would not have been called.

But mild measures could not be followed. To destroy slavery was of greater immediate importance than to develop the Negro. About 1830 the storm began which was to secure emancipation, and the blue sky has been darkened ever since. It was perhaps a necessary storm, but it has been unnecessarily prolonged.

The controversy which was to work so much that was good and so much that was not good for the Negro was at first concerned with slavery; since 1865 it has been concerned with the position of the Negro. The slavery problem and the Negro problem are distinct by nature, but in their development in America one ran into the other. Northern men declared that slavery wronged the Negro by taking from him his inalienable rights; Southern men replied that the Negro had no inalienable rights, and that slavery was the condition best suited for his development. And it happened that by a process of action and reaction each side became more emphatic in its assertions until at last one was declaring for Negro suffrage, thus ennobling the inferior to the position of equal citizenship, and the other was declaring that slavery was a divinely appointed institution. Southern churches which in 1800 worked for the conversion of Negroes and taught that slavery was an evil, were in 1850 teaching that the African was divinely ordained to bondage; and the most radical of Southerners were beginning to ask if he had any soul which God was bound to respect.

It was a conviction which did not rest on failure in the efforts to elevate him, but which grew out of a heated condition

of the public mind in the great sectional controversy.

Then came the War with its failures, and reconstruction with its fury. Whether we condemn or approve Negro suffrage, which the North forced on the South while it could, we shall see that it did not improve the South's opinion of the Negro. From 1830 to 1909 is a long period. There is not a man living in the South to-day who remembers the time when the Negro question was not associated with passion. The people there not only have forgotten that they ever planned and strove to develop the race in the old English way, but they have difficulty in believing the historian when he proves it from their own history. They have not thought it possible to return to the former attitude, and yet what has been done can be done again.

If we could return to the attitude which existed in the days of saner conditions, the days of Jefferson and Washington, we should not have social intermingling of the races. . . . The difference between that condition and the present would be in the absence of friction. A white man would not hate a Negro because he was a Negro, and a black man would not hate a white man because he was white. We should then lose that apprehension, as old as slavery, that some day there will come a great, bloody strug-

gle between the two hostile races, a struggle whose great probability lies in the habitual anticipation of it.

The North and the South are jointly responsible for the struggle which brought race antipathy to its present condition; and they have joint responsibility for its removal. The best thing they can do is to let the fires go out. . . .

But patience is our only obligation. There ought also to be wise and persistent efforts for Negro uplift. And this is a duty which ought to fall on the South as well as on the North. People who are striving to help the Negro will not hate him. If this Conference can suggest some means of bringing the many efforts of the North to improve the condition of the Negro into touch with the Southern whites, it will do the best day's work done man's progress. For example, if the missionary agencies in a Southern State should hold a conference to consider their own work in which they could induce Southern clergymen to take part, there would be laid the foundation of mutual understanding and good will, and it would result beneficially to all concerned.

. . . If such harmony can be obtained we shall be in a fair way to return to the old Anglo-Saxon attitude, which sprang from English love of fair play, and which is only obscured by events which in their nature are transitory.





HELPING ONE ANOTHER IN BUSINESS

We constantly note with regret that a large number of Negro doctors and preachers carry their law cases to white firms. They shut out the Negro lawyer, and many of them are equally busy in getting money from the Negro people and giving it to the white grocery around the corner and passing by the Negro grocer next door to them. Yet these same individuals are continuously harping on "my race" and "my people." "My people" and "my race" for what? Simply to get their money and carry it to the white race that does not need it, instead of helping out the struggling Negro in business or a profession. One Negro not long since gave a white church \$500, and they sent it back to him, and told him to give it to some colored church that needed it. Nearly all the Negro undertakers in and around New York give their cases to white lawyers and doctors, and no wonder they are amazed that a leading Negro preacher should be buried by a white undertaker. But what can they say about it? The Negro preacher was buried by a white man with money he got from Negroes. Some of these undertakers are getting money from colored funerals and giving it to white law firms, instead of

helping the struggling Negro lawyer. Good people, what do you think of this?

GEORGIA STRIKE DECISION

A few extracts from the investigation by the Arbitration Commission of Georgia of the recent strike of the white firemen in that State may interest our readers in that it attempted to prove by the white firemen that the Negro firemen whom the railroads thought enough of to put in their places were incompetent; and this, too, as if the railroads did not know in employing these colored men whether they were competent or not. Read this:

"Witness after witness swore that Negroes were too incompetent and stupid to be safe firemen, and that the Georgia Railroad did not hold them to accountability for the violation of the ordinary rules of safety. The witnesses gave names and dates to substantiate their statements. It also developed that when an engine came in from a run with a Negro fireman on the box and was sent out with a white man firing, the white man had to put his clothes in the box used by the negro, and had to drink from the same cup which the Negro had used."

And read again:

"The award of the Georgia Railroad Strike Arbitration Board, which was announced early this morning, is against the seniority of white firemen over Negroes, and provides that the Georgia Railroad when using Negroes as firemen, hostlers, or hostlers' helpers, shall pay them the same wages as white men in similar positions. Arbitrator Hardwick dissented from this. Mr. Hardwick, in a dissenting opinion from the proposition fixing Negroes' wages the same as those of whites, said:

"In so far as the above finding permits the continued employment of Negro firemen I dissent, because I believe from the evidence that such employment is a menace to the safety of the traveling public."

"The arbitrators, chosen as a result of the recent strike of the white firemen, were ex-Secretary of the Navy Hilary Herbert for the road, Congressman Hardwick for the white firemen, and Chancellor Barrow as umpire."

The above decision in favor of the Negro firemen seems to point toward equality in the chance to earn one's living regardless of the color of the skin.

The labor organizations cannot clamor for justice to themselves with one breath and with the other deny justice to the Negro. Such a position is wholly untenable. It is a house built on the sand, and must fall sooner or later.

PRESIDENT ELIOT'S FIVE-FOOT LIBRARY

Dr. Charles W. Eliot has named the

following 25 books "which constitute his five-foot shelf library which he believes will give any man the essentials of a liberal education." Shakespeare is not in the list. We think for a Negro some Negro history should appear to make it complete. But the following is the list named:

"Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin."

"Journal of John Woodman."

"Fruits of Solitude," by William Penn.

Bacon's "Essays" and "New Atlantis."

Milton's "Areopagitica" and "Tractate on Education."

Sir Thomas Browne's "Religio Medici."

Plato's "Apology," "Phaedo," and "Crito."

Emerson's "Essays."

Emerson's "English Traits."

The complete Poems of Milton.

Jonson's "Volpone."

Beaumont and Fletcher's "The Maids' Tragedy."

Webster's "Duchess of Malfy."

Middleton's "The Changeling."

Dryden's "All for Love."

Shelley's "Cenci."

Browning's "Blot on the Scutcheon."

Tennyson's "Becket."

Goethe's "Faust."

Marlowe's "Dr. Faustus."

Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations."

"Letters" of Cicero and Pliny.

Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress."

Burns's "Tam O'Shanter."

Walton's "Complete Angler" and "Lives" of Donne and Herbert.

"Autobiography of St. Augustine."
 Plutarch's "Lives."
 Dryden's "Aeneid."
 "Canterbury Tales."
 "Imitation of Christ," by Thomas
 a Kempis.
 Dante's "Divine Comedy."
 Darwin's "Origin of Species."
 "Arabian Nights."

Several of the college presidents object to Dr. Eliot's theory that a man can become liberally educated by reading this list of books, and ask what is the necessity of such schools as Harvard College if an individual can read these books and fit himself educationally. We would advise the reading of these books anyway, and let the question of liberal education take care of itself. For, as a matter of fact, many people who never heard of this list of books are quite able to take care of themselves along with the fellow who has read them or will read them.

RUSTLE IN THE AFRICAN LAIR

Gratifying indeed is that glimpse into the progress and state of mind of the South Africans furnished by a recent copy of the "Diamond Hills Advertiser," published in Kimberley, South Africa. The report is given of a large mass meeting of natives, who protest strongly against the acceptance by the English government of the full draft of the constitution submitted by the convention of the four South African British colonies recently sitting at Cape Town. The colonies represented at the convention were Cape Colony, Transvaal, Natal and

Orange. The natives fear that owing to the ambiguous wording of the constitution they may lose their present political rights. Held under the auspices of the Kimberley branch of the African Political Organization, the meeting was addressed by nearly a score of speakers. The following from the report conveys the tenor of the meeting:

The Chairman said the important point from his point of view was clause 35 which referred to the franchise. The franchise they had enjoyed for nearly fifty years, which had never been abused, and could now be taken away. ("Shame.") There were many other points which required their careful attention, and he invited discussion on the subject.

The Hon. Secretary said that the clause referred to, which he read, made it possible that if the Constitution as presented was passed, they might lose the franchise. Moreover, the Constitution provided for the drawing of a color line regarding those eligible for election as members of Parliament. At present colored people in Cape Colony had the right, not only to vote for members of Parliament, but also to return men from amongst themselves to represent them in Parliament. By the Constitution that right would be taken away. They wanted a Constitution based on Cecil Rhodes's policy—"equal rights for all civilized men." (Loud applause.)

This is as remarkable as it is encouraging. The natives of South Africa are not only appreciative of their rights but are willing to fight for them. Liberty and political equality are planted deeply in their bosoms and will, as everywhere, continue to grow and gain recognition. The natives in Johannesburg have been making strenuous complaints against their Jim Crow cars and against their being forced to walk in the middle of the streets.

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